

NOBILITY UNDER AKBAR

(1556 A. D. to 1605 A. D.)



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P R E F A C E

In the annals of Muslim rule in India, Akbar occupies the most conspicuous position because he alone carried the Mughal empire to the highest pinnacle of glory. As the greatest imperialist of his age, he had immense resources to bring the whole of India under his direct rule. His greatness lies in treatment of all subjects without creed and caste. He cherished to bring about socio-cultural synthesis. The present study concerns with his nobility who laid sound foundation of the Mughal empire. He was at once the child and the father of his age. The problems before him were more complicated than those of Chandragupta, Ashoka or the Guptas. He was a foreigner, a Turk, and a Muslim. He had to deal with such heterogeneous communities as the Indians- Hindus or the converted Muslims- Turks, Mughals and Persians. His reign (1556 A.D. to 1605 A.D.) occupies an important place in the history of Medieval India. Political integration was achieved to a great extent under him. Administrative uniformity and cultural synthesis achieved during his reign makes it all the more brilliant. All the three Sovereigns, his son, grandson and great grandson who succeeded Akbar for a

century, had sufficient intelligence to recognise the value of many of the institutions of their brilliant ancestor, and to maintain in working order to a certain extent the machine which he had constructed and set in motion. The development of art and literature and the flourishing state of trade under him gives a glorious picture of his reign.

A number of learned historians have studied the glorious reign of Akbar from different angles and a number of books have come to light on him such as 'Akbar the Great' in three volumes by Dr. Ashirwadi Lal Srivastava; Akbar the Great Mogul by Vincet A Smith; Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire by Dr. R.P. Tripathi but unfortunately no detailed work dealing separately with the nobility under him was ever published.

No doubt a number of works dealing with the nobility of Medieval India have also come to light such as 'Kingship and the Nobility' by R.P. Khosla; 'Nobility under Babar and Humayun' by Dr. P.K. Abrol; 'The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb' by Dr. M. Athar Ali; The Political Biography of a Mughal Noble' Munium Khan, Khan-i-Khanan 1497-1575; ^{By 10 TIDAR} ^{ALAM KHAN} Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court 1707-1740 by Dr. Satish Chandra. After a deep study of these works, I was encouraged to undertake the study of nobility under Akbar.

The organisation of the nobility was one of the most important institutions devised by the Mughal emperors. The functioning of the administrative system, the due discharge of political and military obligations by the State, the maintenance of special standards, in fact, the existence of the empire itself depended in a very large number, on the proper working of this institution. Akbar is sometimes called the real founder of the Mughal empire because the real foundation of the Mughal administration was laid down in his reign. The importance of the present work lies in the fact that it deals with the nobility under Akbar because the nobility played an extremely important role in the establishment, expansion and consolidation of the Mughal empire.

The nobles were the pillars of the empire. They were the main-stay of a Sovereign's power in Medieval India. Although in theory the emperor enjoyed absolute powers but in practice he could govern only through his nobles. Though the emperor was not bound with their advise^c he often consulted them on matters of State policy and their opinions played an important part in their formation. His policies could only be implemented through them.

There was no hereditary nobility in India though the descendants of a deceased noble often succeeded in

obtaining a rank. They were not the hereditary owners of land. They depended for their political position on the influence they could wield on the king. The appointments, suspension and dismissal of the nobles depended solely on the sweet will of the emperor. No monarch could remain on the throne without the support and cooperation of his nobles. Similarly, the position of the nobles depended on the influence they could wield over the king. This interdependence contributed in some measure to the conflict between the king and the nobles. We find a continuous attempt on the part of the nobles to minimise the control that could be exercised over them by the king. The nobles therefore had a universal tendency of resisting the attempts of the king to become all powerful. The kings on the other hand tried their best to have full control over the nobles.

Before the time of Akbar, the nobility lacked coherent organisation. During the Sultanate period the territorial nobility or zamindars were excluded from the list and hence, the Hindus had little to do with the nobility. Humayun made an elaborate classification. He divided the court into three sections and each section into twelve grades. Akbar classified the nobles into grades depending on the number of Suvars to be maintained by them. The lowest rank being 10 and the highest 5000 for a long time. However, the

mansab soon became merely an index of rank, status and salary, unrelated to the number of suwars to be maintained. The Mughals never showed much prediliction for ethnic, national or clan exclusiveness. The nobility of Babur and Humayun included Iranis, Turanis, Uzbegs and even Afghans- the latter two were considered the chief enemies of the Mughals.

By means of the mansab*dar*i system, Akbar sought to weld the various heterogenous elements into an organised and harmonious unit, so that the nobility could become an efficient and dependable instrument of the royal will. Akbar seems to have desired that the various ethnic, national and religious groups in the nobility should be so balanced that the king did not become dependant on any one section and enjoyed the maximum freedom of action. Akbar tried to use the Rajputs as a counter-poise against the Muslim nobility. It was not a unique experiment, under almost identical circumstances Muhammad Tughluq had to create amiran-i-Sadah to offset the power of the Muslim nobles. The induction of the Rajputs into the circle of the Mughal governing class strengthened the foundations of the Mughal polity in India. While Akbar's alliance with the Rajputs through matrimonial alliances helped him to counterbalance the power of a section of the nobles in whose loyalty he did not have full confidence, the alliance gave the Rajputs

opportunities for distinction and advancement which they could scarcely have secured otherwise.

In Akbar's time, the highest service was thrown open to all and even some zamindars were appointed mansabdars. Akbar seems to have taken into account the growth of regional sentiments in drawing up his provincial boundries. Many of the provinces coincided broadly with linguistic and traditional divisions, although administrative convenience was probably the dominant consideration. In these provinces, the local elements were to some extent associated with the task of administration.

From the income of the jagir, a noble was expected to maintain a fixed contingent for the service of the king and also to meet his own expenses. However, the jagir was essentially the assignment of revenue and did not primarily involve any administrative charge. The fundamental difference between the position of a zamindar and that of a jagirdar, was that the position of the latter was not a hereditary one and the jagir could not be transferred from father to son. Further Akbar followed a policy of frequent jagir transfers, so that the jagirdars might not develop local ties and challenge the central authority.

The immense centralisation of government, the mansabdari system (placing all officers on mansab in a single hierarchy), the routine of jagir transfers, the appointment of Wajai-nawis (news-reporters) and the personal tours conducted by Akbar himself were all designed to check factionalism in the rank of nobility. Akbar somehow found time to look into almost every detail of administration and thus exercised a close control over it when circumstances required, he showed extraordinary capacity for work and endurance, quick decision and dynamic action. Once he took a decision, he would carry it out with unflinching determination and tenacity, irrespective of time and pains it might involve. His personality was impressive and imposing. As a general and soldier, as a statesman, organiser and administrator, he surpassed all his contemporaries.

That I have been able to complete this work, is entirely due to the help and guidance, I have received from my teacher and supervisor Dr. J. Chaube. I hardly find adequate words to express my deep sense of gratitude to him. I am also grateful to Prof. M.S.L.Saxena, Head of the Department of History. My thanks are also due to Prof. Rekha Joshi, Prof. Radhey Shyam and Prof. C.D. Tripathi of the Department of History, University of Allahabad, for their valuable and scholarly suggestions.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A.N. : Akbarnamah of Abul Fazl
- Ain. Bloch : Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl, translated by Blochmann Vol.I.
- Ain. Jarrett : Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Jarrett Vol.II and III.
- A.S.B. : Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Bayazid : Mukhtasar or Tarikh-i-Humayun, by Bayazid Sultan Biyat.
- Beale : An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, ed. Keene, 1894.
- Bernier : Travels in the Mughal Empire, trans. Constable and V.A. Smith.
- B.M. : British Museum.
- Commentarius : Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius by Father A. Monserrate.
- De Laet : De Imperio Magni Mogolis, Sive India Vera, by John de Laet.
- Firishta : Tarikh-i-Firishta by Mohd. Qasim Hindu Shah Firishta.
- Gulbadan : Humayun-Namah, by Gulbadan Begam.
- Iqbalnamah : Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri by Mutamid Khan.
- J.I.H. : Journal of Indian History, Trivendrum.
- J.I.H.C. : Journal of Indian History Congress.
- J.I.C. : Journal of Islamic Culture, Hyderabad.

- J.I.H.R.C. : Journal of Indian Historical Records Commission.
- J.R.A.S. : Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- J.A.S.B. : Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
- Jauhar : Tazkirat-ul-Wakiat, by Jauhar Aftabachi.
- M.T. : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, by Abdul Qadir Badaoni.
- M.R. : Maasir-i-Rahimi by Abul Baqi.
- M.U. : Maasir-ul-Umarah by Shah Nawaz Khan.
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- Tuzuk : Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir, transl. and ed. by A. Rogers and M. Beveridge.
- T.A. : Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Nizamuddin Ahmad.
- Takmil : Takmil-i-Akbarnamah, by Inayatullah transl. by Beveridge.
- U.H. : Umarah-i-Hunud.
- Z.K. : Zakhirat or Dhakhirat ul Khawanin by Shaikh Fa'id Bhakhari.

NOBILITY IN THE PRE-MUGHAL PERIOD

The Arabic-Persian term 'Umarah'¹ was used in the reign of Akbar for all mansabdars holding the mansabs² of 5,00 and above. The superior graded officials of the empire were called mansabdars. But the mansabdars under the mansab (rank) of 5,00 were not entitled to be called as amir.

In the present work the main emphasis has been laid to the mansabdars of the rank of 500 and above because only those mansabdars could reasonably be counted as members of the ruling class owing to their status and the part they played in the administration of the country. They formed the superior class in the political order and could claim to have a voice in the government. However, for a comparative study between the high mansabdars and the low mansabdars on certain issues, the mansabdars below the rank of 500 have not been excluded from the scope of study. Though technically the mansabdars below the rank of 500 were not called Umarah (Nobles), but they belonged to the official class, were holders of mansabs and formed the bulk of the official clan. They were imperial officers, were

1 Plural of Amir (Noble).

2. Mansab means 'rank' or position.

sent on military expeditions, helped the emperor in administration and accompanied him on hunting expeditions. There was no other difference except that they were not entitled to be called nobles. (Umarah)

According to the Institutes of Timur the word 'Amir' signified a prince or leader.¹ Amirs or nobles were the commanders of Timur's forces and his counsels in the state affairs. Their authority came next to the sovereign. Though Timur took their advice on vital issues of state policy, he was not bound to act accordingly. He considered his nobles to be his subordinates and adopted measures for reducing them to ~~complete measures~~ ~~for reducing them to~~ complete submission. At the same time, he kept his nobles happy by giving them jagirs, awards, and promotions from time to time. From among his servants Timur raised three hundred and thirteen men to the dignity of 'Amir'. With each of these amirs, another amir was attached who on the death of the first succeeded to his rank and dignity. The latter amir was called 'Kotul' or an Expecter of preferment. Out of these three hundred and thirteen amirs, four were appointed Beglar Begs (Generals or commanders of the First Rank) and one amir~~æ~~ was appointed

1 * 'The Institutes of Timur', Recorded by Sharfuddin Ali Yezdi, Eng. Tr. by Maj. Davy, p. 15 (autobiography of Taimur).

the Amir-ul-Umarah (commander-in-chief) whose jurisdiction was over all the other amirs and the army.¹

Twelve other men were also made amirs by Timur. The Senior most of them was called the twelfth Amir and was a commander of 12,000 men. The eleventh Amir was appointed the deputy of the twelfth Amir and the commander of 11,000 men. In the same way the tenth Amir was the deputy of the eleventh Amir and the commander of 10,000 men. Thus the first Amir was the deputy of the Second Amir and a commander of 1000 men. Timur kept his amirs (nobles) under strict discipline and severally punished them in case they misbehaved or disobeyed his orders.^{1a}

Nobility as an institution existed in India even in the pre-Muslim period. Under the Hindu Rajas the nobles were called the Mantris.² Kautiliya, the famous mantri (minister) of Chandragupta Maurya wrote 'Arthashastra' (Treatise on Polity) which gives useful detailed instructions on the control of the state, national economy and conduct of war.

1 'The institutes of Timur', Recorded by Sharfuddin Ali Yezdi, Eng. Tr. by Maj. Davy, pp 96-98 (autobiography of Timur).

1a Ibid., p.98.

2 The term 'Mantri' can be treated as equivalent to a noble, as the 'mantris' formed the higher strata of the official Class in ancient India.

At the head of state affairs was a small body of elder statesmen whom the king was expected to choose with the ~~at~~most care. It formed the privy-council (Mantri-Parishad) the size of which varied from time to time, ranging from seven to thirty seven. We have little evidence of its size in practice but it seems that it was preferred to have the smaller size than the larger. This council was not a cabinet in the modern sense, but an advisory body, with a few corporate functions. The council's purpose was primarily to advise and aid the king and not to govern, but it was no mere rubber-stamping body. All authorities stress that the councillors should ~~speak~~ freely and openly and that the king should give full consideration to their advice.¹

Nobility under Delhi-Sultanate

In medieval times the nobles were the mainstay of a sovereign power. Although the sovereign in theory enjoyed absolute powers but in practice he could govern only with the help of his nobles or officers. He could make plans and chalk out policies but these plans and policies could only

1 Rudradaman, a king of Saka dynasty once referred the question of rebuilding the Girnar dam to his councillors, who advised against it, so he was forced to undertake the work against their advice, apparently at the expense of the privy purse and not of public funds. The Kashmir chronicle gives one case of a privy council deposing the king, another of its vetoing the king's nomination of his successor.

See Wonder That was India, by A.L. Basham, p. 99.

be carried out by them. Therefore, the opinions and interests of the nobles, directly or indirectly, played an important part in their formation. The interests of all of them could not be taken into consideration. Hence the sovereign was not in a position to satisfy every noble and officer because the nobles generally differed among themselves on vital issues of state business and it was often difficult to obtain their unanimous decision. At the same time, the sovereign could not afford to displease them because the nobles helped him not only in conquering territories and extending his empire but also in the administration of the country. The quarrels and frictions in the rank of nobility continued throughout the medieval period which led the nobles to organise themselves in groups and factions on the basis of religion, caste, creed, nationality, support to a particular candidate for succession to the throne and so on. Therefore, Factionalism remained a salient feature of the nobility in medieval India. The position, composition and organisation of the nobility and its ^{relations} ~~selections~~ with the sovereign changed from time to time.

In the Sultanate period, the kings were generally themselves nobles, having risen to power by sheer dint of merit and practical statesmanship. From 1192 A.D. to 1206 A.D. Qutbuddin Aibak administered this country (some portions of Northern India, including Delhi) as a governor or representative of Mohammad Ghorī. In 1206 A.D. Aibak, after

the death of Mohammad Ghorī, became the defacto ruler. Breaking all relations with the Ghorid empire, he became the founder of Delhi Sultanate, giving it an independent sovereign status. The next important ruler, Iltutmish, held important posts in the reign of Aibak and was ultimately made by him the governor of Badaon. He was one of the influential officers of Aibak and was also his son-in-law. In 1211 A.D., after the death of Aibak (1210 A.D.), Iltutmish became the Sultan. Similarly Balban was a member of the Chahalgani (Group of forty nobles formed by Iltutmish), was promoted to the post of amir-i-shikar (Person in charge of the royal hunt) in the reign of Sultana Raziya (1236 AD.-1240 A.D.), was appointed to the post of Naib (Deputy Sultan) in the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246 A.D. to 1266 A.D.) and finally in 1266 A.D. Balban became the ruler. Before his accession in 1290 A.D., Jalaluddin Khalji, had risen to the important position of Sar-i-jandar (Head of the Royal Bodyguard), appointed governor of Samana (a frontier province on the North-West) and was probably the most experienced and powerful Turkish noble. Jalaluddin's nephew and son-in-law Alauddin Khalji before his accession to the throne in 1296 A.D. held the posts of Amir-i-Tozak (Master of Ceremonies) and the governorship of Karra-Manikpur (Allahabad) and Awadh. Malik Ghazi, towards the end of Alauddin Khalji's reign became one of the most powerful Turkish nobles in the kingdom and

was appointed by him the governor of Dipalpur. He retained his position in the reign of Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji (1316 A.D. to 1320 A.D.). In 1320 A.D. Ghazi Malik ascended the throne, under the title of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq¹ Shah. In this way we find out that the important Sultans of Delhi were themselves nobles before their accession to the throne.¹ Dr. Tripathi says that

Since the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, there was a continuity in ranks, designation, racial extraction and hereditary descent which made the Turkish nobility a unique institution. The rise of this nobility was accidental. The nobility under the Delhi Sultans had no right against the state and had no alternative except to live as loyal supporters of their sovereign or as independent rulers. Thus in the opinion of Dr. Ashraf the nobility was reduced to the status of hired bureaucracy which could not exist without the personality of their sovereign.

Dr. Ashraf is of the opinion that broadly speaking, the Turkish nobility could be divided into two major groups- the Ulema and the Umarsh.² The Ulema formed a

1 Dr. Tripathi says that "at that time the position of the sovereign ruler was not more than an exalted peer."
Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire.

2 Ashraf, Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan, p.170.

distinct class of their own and to regard them as a part of the nobility does not sound well because the Ulema were never active participants in the policies of the Sultans. Their role was that of a **second** fiddle who lent their support to the strong party in the tussle between the crown and the nobility . In fact Dr. Ashraf aimed at the study of the Muslim aristocracy, including a very wide range of the sophisticated gentry of the Sultanate, irrespective of the fact whether they were members of the political machinery or not. Further, the classification of the nobility as suggested by Dr. Ashraf is based on the principles of occupation. A close scrutiny of the nobility in the Sultanate period, makes it difficult to accept the basis of classification as made by Dr. Ashraf.

Aibak's accession to the throne was without dispute and all the Muizzi nobles (nobles of Mohammad Ghori) accepted him as their sovereign. The reasons are not far to seek.¹ In its earlier stages the Turkish nobility was nothing more than an organised camp, having a spirit for joint adventure and the will to fight for a common cause. The nobles had no vested interests of their own. There is much semblance of truth in the assertion made by Professor

1 . S.B.P. Nigam, Nobility Under the Sultans of Delhi.

distinct class of their own and to regard them as a part of the nobility does not sound well because the Ulema were never active participants in the policies of the Sultans. Their role was that of a **second** fiddle who lent their support to the strong party in the tussle between the crown and the nobility. In fact Dr. Ashraf aimed at the study of the Muslim aristocracy, including a very wide range of the sophisticated gentry of the Sultanate, irrespective of the fact whether they were members of the political machinery or not. Further, the classification of the nobility as suggested by Dr. Ashraf is based on the principles of occupation. A close scrutiny of the nobility in the Sultanate period, makes it difficult to accept the basis of classification as made by Dr. Ashraf.

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1 S.B.P. Nigam, Nobility Under the Sultans of Delhi.

Habib that the Indo-Turkish slave bureaucracy in the 13th century was, a sort of joint family organisation in its earlier stages.¹

As the Turks settled down and the Sultanate obtained stability, the will to fight for a common cause was overpowered by the more powerful sentiments of greed for wealth and lust for power. The nobles began to have their vested interests and they engaged themselves in safeguarding these interests by fair and foul means. The accession of Iltutmish to the throne of Delhi is significant because it marks an important stage in the development of the Turkish nobility. Firstly, because the nobles asserted their right to nominate their sovereign and asserted it by force, and secondly it weakened the principle of heredity as the basis of sovereignty. Iltutmish adopted a policy of divide and rule by creating rival groups among the nobles. Thus he sowed the seeds of dissensions among the nobles. By the time of his death the Turkish nobility had organised itself into a united compact body. This is illustrated by the fact that in spite of Iltutmish's nomination of his daughter Raziya as heir-apparent, the nobles placed, his son Ruknuddin Firuz on the

1 • Professor Habib's Introduction to Elliot and Dowson's History of India, edited by Prof. K.A. Nizami, pp. 95-96.

throne. During Rukunuddin Firuz's short reign the Turkish nobility arose to be a powerful group against the Tajik nobles of the court.

The nobility was organised on the racial basis under the Ilbari Turks.¹ Nearly all the prominent nobles were Turks but Khaljis and Tajiks too formed a powerful wing of the nobility. The Turks being dominant and patronised by Mohammad Ghorî got the best of the fertile lands of Hindustan and the Khaljis were driven to seek fortune in the remote lands of Bengal and Bihar. Next important group after Ilbari Turks was that of foreigners called Tajiks who from the beginning of the establishment of the Sultanate, held influential positions. Although many Tajiks were removed from their posts during the reigns of Iltutmish's successors, they still held important posts in the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud and they made a common cause with Ilbari Turks in bringing about the downfall of Imaduddin Raihan. Another group of nobles under the Ilbari Turks was that of newly converted Muslims, called the Neo-Muslims. This group was introduced in the rank of nobility during the reign of Iltutmish and his successors but its influence was more pronounced during the latter part of the rule of Ilbari Turks. Sultan Balban patronised Neo-Muslims. During the reign of Sultan Muizzuddin Kaiqubad, the Neo-Muslims held

1 From Sultan Iltutmish to Sultan Muizzuddin Kaiqubad were Ilbari Turks.

many important assignments. They were despised by the Turkish nobility as outcastes. Another group of nobles under Ilbaris was that of Afghans. They formed a significant wing in the army of Mohammad Ghorī, who led 12,000 Afghan horsemen in the battle against Prithviraj Chauhan.¹ They were also patronised by Aibak who raised many of them to the position of the nobles.² During the reign of Iltutmish and his successors the Afghans could^{not} make any progress. Under Balban, the Afghans again rose to prominence as he placed great confidence in them and there were three thousand Afghan soldiers in Balban's army.³ Another group of nobles, though very insignificant was that of Abyssinians who came into prominence in the reign of Raziya but their influence was short lived.

The racial composition of the nobility was a distinctive feature of the nobility under the Khalji Sultans also. Jalaluddin Khalji distributed all coveted posts to the Khaljis, most of whom were his relatives. Therefore, the dominant position was now occupied by the Khalji Turks, but the old Ilbari Turks continued to assert themselves and made a number of efforts to depose the Khaljis but failed because of lack of proper leadership. Neo-Muslims received

1 Nizamatus-Salam, "The Makhzan-i-Afghana", Eng. Tr. by Nirodbhushan Roy, p.12.

2 Ibid., p.13.

3 Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p.315, Minhaj-us. Siraj.

great patronage in the short reign of Jalaluddin. Alauddin Khalji not only suppressed the Ilbari Turks who had received some patronage under Jalaluddin but also did away with the Khalji nobles who were the supporters of Jalaluddin. He then cleared off the Mughal nobility by following a systematic policy of genocide against them.¹ Hindu converts to Islam, however, made progress under him. Malik Kafur, who rose to the post of Naib was a Hindu, convert. It appears that Alauddin encouraged this new class of nobility to counter-balance the Khalji nobles. The Afghans who had made some progress under the Ilbaris made further progress under the Khaljis.

Under the Tughlaqs the principle of racialism was completely discarded due to number of reasons. Firstly, the Tughlaqs were themselves foreigners in India. They could hardly trace their antecedents previous to the reign of the Khaljis. Secondly, the Tughlaqs had to rely on the old Khalji nobility because of the support rendered by them in bringing the Tughlaqs into power. Thirdly, the new policy of Mohammad bin Tughlaq to make his administration broad-based discouraged the rise of any particular group. He encouraged the foreigners, Hindus, Mongols, Khurasanis and Arabs but never allowed them to organise into a powerful

1 These Mughal nobles had rebelled whereupon Alauddin ordered the general slaughter. They were Mongol converts to Islam and were also known as Neo-Muslims.

group. At the death of Mohammad bin Tughlaq, the nobility was a conglomeration of Mongols, Afghans, Neo-Muslims, and others. The next ruler Firuz Tughlaq created a heterogenous nobility to satisfy all the elements. Thus by the time of Firuz Tughlaq racial considerations had ceased to be a cementing force of the nobility and with the disappearance of the old bond of unity, the nobles began to satisfy their personal ambitions. Sultan Firuz Tughlaq selected his team of administrators without any regard to racial superiority and kinship. His courtiers were drawn from the heterogenous stock of Mongols, Afghans, slaves, newly converted Hindus etc. and others.

This liberal policy of Firuz Tughlaq led to absence of any racial group automatically providing those checks and balances which were necessary for efficient and smooth running of the despotic government. No powerful group could emerge in his reign due to this unique character of his nobility. Further, he left the nobles undisturbed in the fulfilment of their ambitions. He gave them full liberty for the exercise of initiative in their respective fields. So much freedom to the nobles in the lapse of time led to deterioration in the efficiency and the loyalty of the nobility who began to sacrifice the interests of the state to their own selfish ends. Hereditary was made the most important criteria for such important posts as that of the Wazir (Prime Minister) by Firuz Tughlaq which further curbed

the chances for the rising talents. Firuz was an ease loving monarch and became too much dependant on his nobles. The hereditary character of nobility was responsible to a great extent for the stability of his reign but it proved injurious to the Sultanate. The nobles began to appropriate as many posts and assignments for their own progeny and dependents that new blood having talents and ability could not be fused in administration. It led to nepotism and corruption in the rank and file of the nobility. While racialism which characterised the early Turkish nobility, was gradually discarded due to force of circumstances, the principle of heredity which had established itself during the Ilbari rule had gradually come to prominence and by the time of the Tughlaqs, it became the most powerful factor in the organisation of the nobility. Then in the reign of Firuz Tughlaq, the institution of slavery developed. Firuz was very fond of slaves and he had collected slaves in such a large numbers that he had to create a separate department (Diwan-i-Arz-i-Bandagan) which was responsible to look after their education and living. All these slaves received manumission (freedom from slavery) in the life time of Firuz and gradually rose to a respectable position equal to the nobility. This new class of nobility had no chances to rise until the privileged nobility existed. Therefore, they tried to annihilate the privileged nobility

a. in order to curve out their own existence. This self interest led to the mutual annihilation of the nobles during the reign of Firuz's successors. These slaves played an important part in bringing about the downfall of the Tughlaq dynasty.

Thus the nobility under the Sultans of Delhi began its career as a small racial group of Ilbari Turks but within half a century of Turkish rule, indigenous elements began to mix and gradually it became more and more heterogenous in character. The heterogenous character of the nobility though provided those checks and balances which were helpful for the sovereigns to keep the nobles under control but in times of necessity it failed to provide leadership to save the Turkish state. Further, the heterogenous character of the nobility failed to develop a sense of patriotism that could make the state stable.¹

The Afghans were strongly wedded to tribal organisation of society. Success of the Afghan government depended to a large extent upon the cooperation of the nobles with the Sultan. The tribal chief was looked upon as chief among equals. The Lodi Sultans were therefore compelled to introduce a tribal monarchy of a confederal

1 For further details, See, S.B.P.Nigam's 'Nobility Under the Sultans of Delhi'; and also his article 'Organisation of the Turkish Nobility'; Islamic Culture, 1965, pp. 271-283.

character. They could not expect help or cooperation from the Turks, the Mughals or the native inhabitants of Hindustan. Hence the Lodi rulers could not afford to annoy the tribal leaders. Their importance did not lie merely in the fact that they were military commanders and recipients of all high offices in the empire but the Afghan nobles claimed in addition, an inalienable right of confederal autonomy. Sultan Bahlul Lodi treated his nobles as his equals and they were fully satisfied when he gave them a lot of autonomy. When his son Sultan Sikandar Lodi followed a policy of consolidating the position of the Sultan and curtailed the privileges of the nobles, they became restive. Later on when Sikandar's successor Sultan Ibrahim Lodi flatly rejected the concessions enjoyed by the nobles, they rose in open rebellion. They claimed that they should be treated as equals and they were ready to accept the Sultan as one among them and were not prepared to tolerate his higher status. The Afghan nobles could not make and compromise with the changed conditions under Ibrahim Lodi and therefore, a number of rebellions of the nobles occurred in his reign. occurred

The Afghan nobles and officers were considered to be uncultured, boorish and ranked low in the social circle. They did not possess the qualities of head and heart. The Afghan nobles were inefficient financiers. But they were not devoid of good qualities, they were well-known for kindness

and generosity and were sincere, jovial and informal in their dealings.¹

Pre-Akbar Period

When Babar became the ruler of Farghana in 1489 A.D. after his father Umar Shaikh Mirza's death, the nobles of the late emperor automatically came in his service. Some changes seem to have been introduced by his father, Umar Shaikh. Firstly, there was no 'order' in nobility, like Timur. Secondly, the system of attaching 'kotuls' to amirs, as followed by Timur, had also disappeared. Finally, there was no Amir-ul-Umarah in the nobility of Umar Shaikh Mirza. There was one thing common in the nobility of Timur and Umar Shaikh, and that is the nobility included men from diverse races and tribes.

Babar used to call his nobles, 'Begs'. During his rule in Farghana, the most prominent race in his nobility was the Mughal (Mongol) race. When he established himself at Kabul (1504-A.D.) he claimed and exercised as much control over his nobles or Begs as any khan of olden times. His noble's loyalty deepened all the more because of their

1 For further details, see the article 'Rise of the Afghan nobility under the Lodi Sultans' by Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, pp. 114-137, Vol. IV, Medieval India Quarterly, 1961.

dependence on him. On the eve of his final campaign to Hindustan his nobility consisted of two wings- The Turkish nobility included the Turanis, Irani,¹ Mirzas, Mughals, and Uzbegs, while the Hind nobility included only the Afghans. The number of the latter increased considerably after Babar's victory at Panipat and Khanwa.

In his last years Babar introduced festive assemblies in the evenings which produced a salutary effect on the nobles. He succeeded in winning their loyalty but he had also to lessen his own despotic power. Sometimes before his death, his Turk nobles were showing signs of discontentment and ambition. Nizamuddin Khalifa seemed all powerful and some of the other nobles, including the Mirzas, exercised influence on the state.

On his accession, Humayun continued his father's policy, conciliated his nobles with costly presents and treated them like comrades. Among his nobles were included the learned maulvis and by the foundation of Din-panah, he emphasised the importance of this section. His growing contact with the Shaikhs, the Syeds and the Ulema encouraged the learned men from the other countries to seek asylum in

1 There was only one Irani noble in Babar's service namely, Yar Ali Balal. During Humayun's reign the number of Irani nobles considerably increased. See the Thesis by P.K.Abror, p.2, 'Nobility under Babar and Humayun'.

his court and to receive his patronage. This made his court the most brilliant among the courts of Asia.

Nothing could offer a better contrast than the subservient bureaucracy of Babar and the tribal turbulence of the Afghans. They would neither stand before the king as the Mughal nobles had to, nor give their sovereign that unquestioned obedience which the Timurids expected from their nobles. "The Afghans remain in the course of characteristic comment very rustic and tactless. This person (Biban) asked to sit . . . little ear was bent to his unreason."¹ Humayun's nobles could not remain aloof and they were influenced by the Afghan sentiments. His nobles began to conceive themselves as it were in Afghan shoes and began demanding the same freedom from jagir transfer and military duties as was the rule with the Lodi nobles. On the other hand Sher Shah (Founder of the Second Afghan Empire) said that 'India was not Roh' (Afghanistan) and he reorganised the Afghan nobility on lines similar to those of the Mughals. He tried to change the outlook of the tribal leaders and enforced obedience and commanded respect. The Afghans had to gradually weaned away from their tribal and parochial outlook and trained to think in terms of an empire.

1 Babarnamah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, p. 466.

Ultimately, however, despite Humayun's weakness and Sher Shah's organising capacity both the inherent centralisation of the Mughal beauracracy and the feudal outlook of the Afghans asserted themselves. Although Humayun might still have to make compromise with his nobles, still he was thereby able to face the divided Afghans and reestablish Mughal Suzerainty in India.

On his return from Persia, Humayun changed his ways and became more strict in his dealings with the nobles. He was often seen on his saddle than in the literary assemblies. About this time he seems to have made two concessions to his nobles, first to accept the unanimous verdict of his nobility even if he personally disagreed with them and secondly, not to devote himself too exclusively to literary pursuits. His new friends or favourites were Bairam Khan, Tardi Beg Khan, Shah Abul Meali and Abdullah Khan. By the death or exile of some of the prominent old nobles, the new nobles automatically got a chance to rise higher in the esteem of the emperor. But even the new group of nobility was conscious of its power as a clan. Thus, by the 'oath of loyalty', which the emperor and the nobility both took, the latter tried to put certain restrictions upon the powers of the former. They tried to assert that kingship was not the private property of the sovereign; the nobles also had a share in it.

They were willing to render implicit obedience if the policy of the emperor was sound and approved by them, but were not willing to follow him if the policy was whimsical and non-beneficial to the state. The changed behaviour of the emperor, however, proved fruitful, for Kamran, his ambitious brother vanquished and Humayun ^{reigned} ~~reigned~~ once more.

Humayun seems to be vacillating between two opposite ideals, one his father's or central Asian, viz., to be the comrade and companion of his nobles and the other Indian according to which he was to be absolute and far superior to them. The nobility under Humayun remained in the same disorganised state as in the time of Babar. The Turk or the Uzbek, the Irani or the Afghan each jostled against the other for the king's favour. Most of them were engaged in war and strife against the foes of the kingdom, against each other or against the king.

The attitude of the Mirzas in the reign of Humayun had an adverse effect on the nobility also. They intrigued with the nobles in order to increase their own power. Thus they were instrumental in forming groups in the nobility. The dangerous element of conspiracy and treachery entered into the minds of the nobility. Therefore, the Mirzas singly and collectively were to a great extent responsible

for weakening the power of the crown in the reign of Humayun. The nobility under Babar and Humayun continued to be heterogenous in character.¹

1 For further details, see the Thesis, by R.K. Abrol entitled 'Nobility under Babar and Humayun submitted for D.Phil in the University of Allahabad; also the article 'Kingship and the Nobility in Humayun's time' by Dr. S.K. Banerjee, pp. 25-38, ~~XXXXX~~ Journal of Uttar Pradesh Historical Society, 1941.

CHAPTER I

ORGANISATION OF THE NOBILITY

When Akbar ascended the throne in 1556 A.D. he was only a boy in his fourteenth year. The nobility which he inherited from his father was only a congregation of different races- Turanis, Mirzas, Mughals, Mongols, Uzbegs, Iranis and Afghans.¹ There was no unity among the various racial groups and every group wanted to overpower the other. Each group was busy to attain his own selfish end and loyalty to the throne was put into the background. We will endeavour to find now Akbar tried to organise the nobility; what attitudes he followed towards the various sections of the nobility and how far he succeeded in utilising the services of various racial groups in the expansion and administration of the country. The organisation of the nobility was acted upon in various phases, distinctly marked though not rigidly followed.

First Phase- 1556 A.D. to 1560 A.D.

The first phase witnessed the rise and fall of Bairam Khan. When Akbar ascended the throne at Kalanaur he could not be said to possess any definite kingdom. The small army

1 Role of the Nobility under Babar and Humayun by P.K. Abrol, Thesis submitted in 1964, University of Allahabad, pp.1-6. He says that the nobility was of heterogenous character at the time of the death of Humayun as was the case in the beginning of his reign, the only change made during his reign was the inclusion of Turko-Persian nobles in the nobility or in other words Turani cum Irani nobles. In Babar's reign no reference could be traced of Turani cum Irani nobles. From Humayun's time onwards their names are mentioned by chroniclers such as Haider Sultan Shaibani and his sons Ali Quli Khan Shaibani and Bahadur Khan Shaibani. Those persons who had migrated

under the command of Bairam Khan and Akbar had a precarious hold on certain districts of Punjab and that army itself could not be trusted implicitly.¹ The king being minor, a regent or guardian had to be appointed who could look after the administration in the name of the king. Among the nobility of Humayun four persons because of their service, experience, power and nearness to the late emperor could claim for the post of regent- namely, Bairam Khan, Shah Abul Maali, Munim Khan and Tardi Beg Khan. Bairam Khan, an Irani noble, had served Humayun with exemplary devotion in Persia and afterwards. Besides this, he was such an excellent administrator and military commander that Humayun had appointed him the regent of prince Akbar.² Between him and his master there was the closest intimacy indicated by the grant of the quadruple titles- the fortunate son, the well disposed brother, faithful companion, the intimate friend.³ Shah Abul Maali, a Syed of Tirmiz, had enjoyed special personal affection and favour of Humayun and he was lacking neither in personal bravery nor courage. Humayun used to call him

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from Turan to Iran at some period and had settled there, have been placed by Abrol in the Turani cum Irani group ~~by Abrol~~, See Page 57 of the above mentioned thesis.

- 1 Akbar the Great Mogul, by V.A.Smith, p.23(2nd edn, 1958); Akbar the Great, Vol.I, pp. 17-18 by A.E.Srivastava (2nd edn., 1972).
- 2 A.N.Vol.I, (Eng.Tr.)p.640.
- 3 Tardi Beg Turkistani, an article by S.K.Banerji, J.I.H.C., 1945, 9th Session, p. 336; Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire by R.P.Tripathi, pp. 172-173.

'farzand' or 'son' and always gave him a seat of honour in councils and banquets.¹ Munim Khan in respect of age, experience and seniority in rank was most eligible candidate among the Turani nobles. When Humayun had started towards Hindustan, he had made over the government of Kabul and Ghaznin to him and also made him the regent (guardian or ataliq) of Mirza Mohammad Hakim, younger brother of Akbar.² Earlier Munim Khan had also served as the guardian or ataliq of Prince Akbar.³ Tardi Beg Khan was one of the most renowned nobles who had been in attendance on emperor Humayun at the time of the latter's death. He was the most nonoured person among the Turanis as much by his seniority in age as by his distinguished services for the last half century or more. At the time of Akbar's accession, he was the Subedar (governor) of Delhi, Mewat, Agra, Sambhal and other parganas.⁴ He had served under Babar in the battles of Panipat and Khanwah and enjoyed the high title of Amir-ul-Umarah under Humayun.⁵

Emperor Akbar showed prudence in appointing Bairam

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- 1 A.N.Vol.I, Eng. Tr. pp. 661-62; T.A.II (B.De) pp. 209-10; M.T.II, (Lowe), p.2.
 2. T.A.II (B.De) pp. 211-12.
 3. A.N.Vol.I (Eng.Tr.) p.612.
 4. T.A.II (B.De), 211; M.T.II (Lowe), p.5.
 - 5 Tardi Beg Turkistani, article written by S.K.Banerji, J.I.H.C. 1945, pp. 334-35; A.N.Vol.I, Eng. Tr. pp. 658-60.

Khan to the post of Wakil of the empire¹ and confirming him to the post of regent. Thus the emperor made over all the affairs of the state and finance to Bairam Khan.² He used to come two days a week^e to the court and settle the important affairs of the kingdom in conjunction with other nobles.³ Akbar's^{nobility} was divided on grounds of race, religion and country and the prime necessity of the time was to hold them together and keep them under discipline during the period of crisis. By raising Bairam Khan to the highest position in the empire, the emperor silenced the other aspirants for the time being. Circumstances also favoured Bairam Khan. Munim Khan was away at Kabul acting as regent of Mirza Hakim. He was thus already holding a high office. Though he had started from Kabul for India to try his luck, he returned to Kabul as soon as he heard about the power and influence of Bairam Khan in India.⁴ Tardi Beg Khan was at Delhi. He too could not leave his position to challenge the authority of Bairam Khan in face of Afghan opposition to the Mughal authority. Besides, he had behaved so boorishly in the hour of Humayun's adversity, that the number of his supporters had been reduced.⁵ Shah Abul Maali was in the royal camp

1 After the emperor this post was next highest post of the empire.

2 A.N.Vol.II(Eng.Tr.)pp.9,26,28; Arif Qandahari, pp. 32-33.

3 M.T.II(Lowe), p.13; T.A.II(B.De) p.225.

4 A.N.II,Eng.Tr. pp. 85-86.

5 A.N.I, Eng. Tr. pp 375,380,391,393.

at the time of Akbar's accession but he too could not compete with Bairam Khan for the office of regency. His worst enemy was his own vanity and impudence.¹ He made excuses to attend the great festival organised to celebrate the accession of Akbar. In the end on certain conditions, he attended the function² and sat down on the emperor's right hand. Bairam Khan got him arrested and sent him to Lahore in chains.³ Mutamid Khan, the author of Iqbalnamah, has given a long account of the arrest of Shah Abul Maali. He says that he was respected by Humayun to such an extent that his brain had gone wrong. He refused to attend the coronation ceremony of the emperor Akbar on the pretext that he had not yet left off mourning for the late emperor and supposing that he comes, how would emperor Akbar behave to him and where would he sit in the assembly and how would the officers come forward to receive him? The emperor accepted all the conditions because the aim of the emperor was

1 Badaoni calls him a dullard. M.T.II, Lowe, p.2; T.A.II(Tr.) 210.

2 Shah Abul Maali at first refused to attend the young emperor's court and when he deigned to appear thrust himself forward into a place to which he had no claim and behaved with such gross disregard of propriety that it was necessary to arrest him. Bairam Khan believed him to ~~assess him~~ be actively disloyal and advocated his immediate execution but Akbar was loth to sully his hands on the threshold of his reign, with the blood of one of his father's old servants, and he was sent to Lahore'.
The Cambridge History of India Vol.IV, p.70.

3 At Lahore he was put in charge of Pahlwan Gulgaz. A.N.II, Eng.Tr. pp. 28-30; M.T.II, Lawe, pp. 2-3; T.A. II, B.De, pp. 209-10. Bairam Khan even wanted to kill Shah Abul Maali but the emperor did not agree to the execution of a Syed, in the first year of his reign, immediately after the accession considering that punishment was in excess of his crime. The author of the Zakhirat says that after

to bring him to his senses.¹ When Munim Khan heard about Shah Malli's arrest, he was very happy and as a precautionary measure, arrested Mir Hashim, brother of Shah Abul Maali, who was a jagirdar of Rahmard, Chorband, Zuhag etc.²

The arrest of Shah Abul Maali made secure the position of Bairam Khan. Now he tried to conciliate all the leading men of the state and adopted measures to eliminate from effective posts all those from whom he smelled danger. Bapus Beg, the Faujdar of Lahore was removed from his post and despatched to Kabul with a small contingent on the pretext of reinforcing Munim Khan.³ Another important noble, Tolak Khan Quchin was asked to leave Hindustan and serve under Munim Khan.⁴ Khwajah Sultan Ali was apparently relieved of his duties as Wazir on Bairam Khan's assumption of Wikalat. Within a few days of Akbar's coronation, Shamsuddin Mohammad Khan Atgah, Khwajah Talaluddin Mahmud, Mohammad Quli Khan Birlas, Mirza Khizr Khan Hazara, Mirza Hasan Khan and a number of trusted and influential amirs were

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the death of Humayun, Shah Abul Maali showed signs of rebellion and even an idea to become an emperor entered his mind. Z.K.Vol.I, p.77.

- 1 Iqbal II, pp. 127-128 (Pr.Text) .
- 2 A.N.Vol.II, p.306(Eng.Tr.);Iqbal II(Pr.Text),p.128.
- 3 Cf.Sidi Ali Reis, Travels and Adventures of a Turkish Admiral,Eng.Tr. by Vamberey, London, 1899, pp. 59-66. They carried to Munim Khan the news of Shah Abul Maali's arrest.
- 4 A.N.Vol.II, Eng.Tr. pp. 28-29.

sent to Kabul to bring the Begums of the Royal family and the families of the servants of the empire to India.¹ It was a wise step taken by Bairam Khan to safeguard his position. In this way he sent off almost all the important nobles whose presence could prove embarrassing to Bairam Khan.

Bairam Khan adopted an attitude of great politeness and favour towards Munim Khan and Ali Quli Khan, Uzbek or Shaibani in spite of the fact that both of them were Turanis, while Bairam Khan was an Irani noble.² He wanted to obtain their goodwill, support and cooperation so that in case of fight between him and other nobles, they might at least remain neutral. It is significant to note that both of them alone were raised to the position of Khan on the occasion of Akbar's accession; others were rewarded only after the battle of Panipat.³ Ali Quli became a close ally of Bairam Khan and Munim Khan, though not a friend of Bairam Khan he also cooperated.⁴

1 A.N.II, Eng.Tr. pp. 30-31; T.A. II, B.De, p. 212; M.T. II, Lowe, p.5.

2 Ali Quli Khan is regarded by some historians an Irani or Irani cum Turani noble because of his long stay in Iran. See P.K. Abrol, Nobility under Babar and Humayun.

3 The Mughal court politics during Bairam Khan's regency, an article by Iqtidar Alam Khan, I.H.C., 1965, Allahabad, 27th Session; M.T.II(Lowe), p.5; Bayazid, pp. 195-196; T.A.II(B.De), p.213.

4 Ibid.

It seems that Bairam Khan did not want that his rivals like Munim Khan and Tardi Beg Khan win laurels in the battles and thereby enhance their prestige and increase their following, becoming a danger to ~~the~~^{his} authority. ~~of Bairam Khan~~. It is evident from the fact that when Mirza Sulaiman came from Badakhshan in May, 1556 A.D. and attacked Kabul, Munim Khan who was in charge of Kabul asked Bairam Khan for help but the latter refused to send reinforcements on the plea that the army already sent to bring the ladies ~~was~~ ~~xx~~ sufficient.¹ Again when Tardi Beg Khan was hard pressed against Hemu in Delhi, Bairam Khan did not want that he should win the battle and increase his prestige and power. Though he sent a detachment under Pir Mohammad Khan Sherwani to help him, it is clear from the description of Abul Fazl that Tardi Beg Khan lost the battle because of the evil intentions of Pir Mohammad Khan who had come with malicious intentions to confound Tardi Beg Khan's prosperity and to thwart his efforts at achieving a decisive victory.² Pir Mohammad was in the centre in the battle which Tardi Beg fought against Hemu. During the battle Pir Mohammad fled away to ruin the commander-in-chiefship of Tardi Beg.³ These circumstances combined together to bring about the Mughal defeat at Tughlaqabad (Delhi). Tardi Beg Khan came with other

1 A.N.II, Eng.Tr. pp. 41-43.

2 Ibid., p. 46.

3 A.N.II, Eng. Tr. pp. 48-49.

defeated officers to Samind to pay homage to the emperor.¹

This tilted the balance finally in Bairam Khan's favour.

He now got an opportunity to remove from his path the last remaining hurdle to a free exercise of his powers as regent.

Tardi Beg was a Turani and Sunni noble whereas Bairam Khan was a ~~Iranian~~ ^{Iranian} and a Shia. Both were rivals and apprehensive of each other though outwardly they called each other toqayⁿ (brother).² About 22 Oct. 1556, without obtaining the

emperor's sanction, Bairam Khan on his own initiative had

got Tardi Beg executed. Afterwards he reported the matter

to the emperor stating that the murder of Tardi Beg was

necessity of the time. As he had treacherously fled from

the battle field, this kind of exemplary punishment was

necessary. In laying this charge he was supported by Ali

Quli Khan and Pir Mohammad Sherwani.³ Khwajah Sultan Ali,

Mir Munshi Ashraf Khan and Khanjar Beg, a relative of Tardi

Beg were all arrested because they were suspected of treachery.⁴

1 A.N.II, Eng. Tr. p. 51.

2 Maasir-i-Rahimi Vol.I, pp. 649-50. The author says that Tardi Beg who was commander of the army wanted to ruin Bairam Khan. Due to the religious differences whomsoever, he considered against the religion, he tried to ruin him.

3 Arif Qandahari, pp. 50-51.

4 A.N.II, Eng. Tr. pp. 48-53; T.A. II(B.De)pp. ²¹⁴⁻¹⁶ ~~215-15~~; M.T. II(Lowe) pp. 6-7. According to Bayazid, a contemporary historian, Bairam Khan had an old quarrel with Tardi Beg Khan. He made the defeat of the latter by Hemu a pretext for executing him. It was commonly believed that the real cause of the execution was something else. During the reign of Humayun when Bairam Khan was merely Bairam Beg and his muhrdar (seal keeper), one day he wanted to sit on the same carpet with Tardi Beg Khan, the governor of Etawah which the latter disallowed. Bayazid, pp. 212, 220-21

Khan-Khanan Bairam Khan sent a word to the emperor through

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According to Arif Qandahari, Tardi Beg Khan was executed by the advice of Pir Mohammad Sherwani on account of his negligence in the battle of Delhi. After the matter was investigated and discussed some men who had joined him in this matter were also put to sword. Arif Qandahari, pp. 50-51. But Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin Ahmad and Badaoni ~~etc.~~ do not accuse Tardi Beg of any ~~negligence~~ negligence. Jahangir, in his memoirs says that Tardi Beg Khan made preparations for battle, drew up his force and was defeated after considerate efforts and strife and then proceeded to the royal camp. Alauddaulah Qazwini, the author of Nafais-ul-Maasir, however, agrees with Arif Qandahari and states that Bairam Khan put Tardi Beg to death by the advice of Pir Mohammad Sherwani on account of his negligence in the battle at Delhi. Nafais-ul-Massir, folio 44b (Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh MS). In any way there is no evidence from his conduct during the battle of Delhi and after it of any negligence. His defeat and flight to Garnind was caused by either an error of judgement or nervousness or indiscretion due to defeat and the consequent dispersal of his enemy and not due to any negligence on his part. Neither indiscretion nor nervousness was a guilt sufficient to justify execution. Firishta justifies Bairam Khan's action saying that had Bairam not done so "the old scene of Shershah would have been acted over again." Firishta Briggs, Tr. Vol. II, p. 186, The Rise of Mohamadan power in India. Modern writers like Smith and Haig also justify the execution of Tardi Beg on the ground that it was a severe necessity and failure to punish the dereliction of Tardi Beg from his duty would have cost Akbar both his throne and his life. Circumstances were critical, the Afghans were still at large, the Mughal power with a lawless nobility and disunited army was not yet established and the least cowardice on the part of a prominent noble could set dangerous example. Akbar the Great Mogul, by V.A. Smith. (Second edn. 1958, pp. 26-27. Did Bairam Khan execute Tardi Beg with a view to do good to the king or the state? Several authorities Bayazid, Abul Fazl, Mutamid Khan, emperor Jahangir and even Abul Baqi, reply in the negative and attribute Bairam Khan's action to personal motive. Badaoni says that Bairam Khan was ill-disposed towards Tardi Beg. It is clear that Bairam Khan did all this during Akbar's absence when he was away on hunting and without his knowledge and permission because he apprehended that Akbar would not agree to the execution of Tardi Beg as he had just refused to permit him to execute Shah Abul Maali. It may be concluded that Bairam executed

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his wakil that he had not got Tardi Beg executed due to any ill-intention . His intention was good, Tardi Beg had intentionally preferred to run away from the battle and if everybody behaved the same way, the administration of the country would be ruined. I am sorry that I could not ask you before hand. The emperor accepted his apology because the

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Tardi Beg apparently on the ground of state necessity but really to serve his own end. Akbar who was a mere boy, had no other alternative but to approve of the action of Bairam Khan whose services were then indispensable. The reason of the execution far from being political was entirely personal. The instantaneous effect of this unjust execution was forgotten but afterwards it was completely revived. Von Noer rightly remarks that the death of Tardi Beg showed her (Maham Angah) with what unconcerned barbarity the Regent (Bairam Khan) could remove any person whom he believed likely to endanger his own position. Von Noer 'Akbar', Translated from German, Vol.I, p.79. Bairam Khan who was over jealous from the very beginning thought though by mistake that it was well neigh impossible for him to carry on with the old nobility. Statemanship required a policy of conciliation. Finally, it may be remarked that the execution of Tardi Beg though a blunder on the part of Bairam Khan was not itself motivated by treachery or disloyalty towards the emperor who for Bairam Khan was identical with the state. Qazi Mukhtar Ahmad remarks, "The murder of Tardi Beg was no less than a bomb-shell but it was a time bomb which exploded later on." For details, See the article, 'The execution of Tardi Beg', I.H.Q., 1952, pp. 147-155; and 'Tardi Beg Turkistani' by S.K.Banerji, J.I.H.C. 1945, pp. 334-337; and 'Was Bairam Khan a rebel'? by Qazi Mukhtar Ahmad, Journal of Islamic Culture, 1947, pp. 56-72.

Khanikhanan was a well wisher of the court.¹

The execution of Tardi Beg roused considerable indignation among the Turani nobles. It removed the apprehensions of Bairam Khan who now found himself more safe in the exercise of supreme authority because the murder of Tardi Beg had created awe and terror in the hearts of Turani group of nobles. Though the Turani nobles were indignant at heart, they did not express their anger in a violent manner because the Mughals in India were faced with a grave menace which did not permit them to risk open rupture within their ranks. Moreover, Bairam Khan won over the support of some of the influential nobles who could have taken a lead in protesting the execution of Tardi Beg through various favours. Among the persons thus bought over was also Maham Angah.² Further, it appears that the news of Tardi Beg's execution was not officially announced until one month after the battle of Panipat and special care was taken to conceal it from the nobles at Kabul among whom were the close friends and relatives of the murdered, Tardi Beg. When the royal messenger carrying the news of Mughal victory at Panipat reached Kabul, Munim Khan and his subordinates

1 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I, p.650.

2 Tarikh-i-Alfi, folio 592a, Cf. The Mughal Court Politics during Bairam Khan's regency, by Iqtidar Alam Khan, I.H.C., 1965, Allahabad, 27th session .

were still ignorant of Tardi Beg's execution. This messenger too did not disclose the news to Munim Khan. Afterwards, Bayazid, the historian who was in Munim Khan's service, got the news that Nawab Bairam Khan had got executed Tardi Beg Khan. Munim Khan had received a farman from Bairam Khan conveying him the news of murder. He wept when he got the news and Khizr Khan suggested Munim Khan that it was not possible to go to Hindustan and they should go back to Kabul, so that Mohammad Quli Khan might not give trouble to the people of Kabul.¹ In this way Bairam Khan was able to keep the nobility under control and for the time being Bairam Khan was able to establish unity of command, the direct result of which was the splendid victory at Panipat.

After the victory at Panipat, Bairam Khan tried to reward and promote his own friends and allies thus creating an independent following for himself. Ali Quli Khan Shaibani or Uzbek got the title of Khan-i-Jaman and the Sarkar of Sambhal and other parganas of the Duab were given to him in jagir. Abdullan Khan Uzbek received the title of Shujaat Khan and was appointed to the Sarkar of Kalpi. Iskander Khan Uzbek received the title of Khan-i-Aalam; Pir Mohammad Sherwani

1 Bayazid Biyat's Tazkirat-i-Humayun wa Akbar, edited by M. Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1941, pp. 218-221 (Oriental Public Library, Patna, 12187); A.N.Vol.II (Eng.Tr.) p.86.

of Nasir-ul-mulk. Qiya Khan Gung was given the charge of Agra.¹ They all became the close adherents of Bairam Khan and helped him to establish order and tranquillity and all these persons played an important part in the expeditions, sent in different directions after the battle of Panipat.²

During his tenure of office, Bairam Khan freely raised the men of his own community to high positions. He distributed rich and productive jagirs and gave allowances to his own adherents. He conferred the titles of Sultan and Khan on his own men though they did not deserve these titles and also presented them flags, kettle drums, standards etc., whereas the Khans, the princes and other trusted officers who belonged to the side of the young emperor and who had better claims and qualifications for these favours were put into hard straits. Paying no heed to the services of the old

1 A.N.Vol.II(Eng.Tr.)p.71.

2 Ibid., pp. 71-72. Khizr Khwaja Khan was perhaps the only senior noble not belonging to the close circle of Bairam Khan's followers who was entrusted with an important command at this time. He had been appointed the commandant of the force left in Punjab to quell the disturbances of Sikandar Sur on the eve of the battle of Panipat. But even he was not left to act according to his own judgement. The real initiative was throughout in the hands of Haji Mohammad Khan Sistani, a personal servant of Bairam Khan. Another trusted person of Bairam Khan present in the Punjab was Shah Quli Naranji. As soon as Sikandar Sur's pressure increased in Punjab, Bairam Khan sent there high ranking officer, belonging to his close circle, named Isikandar Khan Uzbeg there, further limiting the powers of Khizr Khwajah Khan. A.N.Vol.II, pp. 50, 73-74. Also see 'The Mughal Court politics during Bairam Khan's regency by Iqtidar Alam Khan, I.H.C. 1965, Allahabad.

2/ nobles, what to say of rewards, Bairam Khan did not even gave them smallest jobs to earn livelihood.¹

In the third Regnal Year, 1558-59 A.D. Musahib Beg, son of Khwajah Kilan Beg who had been one of the great amirs of Firdaus Makani (Babar) and Jinnat Ashiyani (Humayun), was murdered by the order of Bairam Khan. Musahib Beg was a Turani and this event, therefore, gave great offence to the Chaghtai or Turani nobles.²

a/ Bairam Khan gradually rose higher and higher in power and prestige and his affairs rose to such a height that he began to believe himself indispensable and began to think that the affairs of the state could not be managed without him.³ He had reached the height of power and now the star of his luck began to decline. The beginning of the year 1560 A.D. saw the downfall of Bairam Khan. No doubt Bairam Khan was a veteran, well-versed in the art of warfare, brave, a patron of literature and even Abul Fazl who was hostile to Bairam Khan is compelled to admit that in reality he was a good man of excellent qualities.⁴ His affectionate

1 A.N.Vol.II(Eng.Tr.) pp. 140,161-164.

2 T.A.II(B.De) pp. 228-29; Abul Fazl says that capital punishment was given to Musahib Beg on the advice of Nasirulmuluk who tactfully induced Bairam Khan to do so. A.N.II,Eng.Tr. pp. 107-108;M.T.II,Lowe, p.19.

3 A.N.II, Eng. Tr. p. 138.

4 Ibid., p. 200.

disposition, his unfailing loyalty, his pronounced courage seems to have led Humayun to appoint him as regent of prince Akbar. But with all these qualities were mingled opposite traits of character, which played a decisive role in bringing about his downfall.¹ He had womanish jealousy and he could not tolerate anybody else's rise. Further more, he had an exalted and exaggerated notion of his ability. This habit in him naturally encouraged flattery and this habit was in fact highly detrimental to a statesman.² He was most of the time surrounded by those self-seekers of fortune who made him all the more vain and haughty. Power made him proud and ~~proud~~ ^{pride} led to his ruin. Gradually he lost power of judicious judgement and committed a series of blunders or more rightly every possible blunder.³

1 Many of these unredeeming features were innate in him but many he added after he came to power and some of his actions were beyond doubt based on personal considerations, apart from political exigencies of the needs of the state. See Central Structure of the Mughal Empire by Ibn Hasan, p.123.

2 A.N.II, Eng. Tr. pp. 138-139; Bairam Khan was a loyal and devoted servant but his disposition was arbitrary, naughty and jealous and he could not easily tolerate the presence of possible rivals near his young master. He was a staunch Shia and his religion rendered him unpopular at a court composed chiefly of orthodox Sunnis. The Cambridge History of India, Vol.IV, p.74.

3 For the causes of Bairam Khan's downfall, and the blunders committed by him See Akbar the Great Mogul, V.A.Smith (2nd edn.), p.32 ; A.N. Vol.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 130-132, 133-135, 139-141; M.T.II, Lowe, p. 28; Akbar the Great, Vol.I, by A.L.Srivastava, pp. 36-38. L 91-95,

Von Noer rightly says that Bairam Khan was though a calculating statesman with 'wisdom and discernment', yet he was 'coldly calculating'.¹ The assumption of power was a political necessity, the king being minor, but the assumption of too much power in a wrong way brought into existence an organised party against him. He wanted to perpetuate his personal authority as against the so-called clique of the old Mughal nobility.² He should have enjoyed power like a great official of the state and not like an autocratic grandee gratifying his own whims as he did. Bairam Khan's intentions were beyond doubt honest but the way he chose to stabilise the government by perpetuating his personal power was disastrously mistaken. R.P. Tripathi rightly says that on Bairam's assumption of power, discontentment led to a conspiracy against the all powerful Bairam Khan and it was the king himself of all the persons who was interested in Bairam's fall.³

1 Akbar by Von Noer, Vol. I, p.74.

2 Shamsuddin Mohammad Atgah Khan, Maham Angah, Mirza Sharfuddin, Adham Khan, Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan belonged to the opposite group of Bairam Khan. Even Ali Quli Khan Shaibani went against Bairam after Burj Ali's death.

3 R.P. Tripathi, Journal of Indian History, 1922, pp. 327-344, 'Maham Angah and Akbar'. There was first, the protector's party consisting of the greater number of the most loyal and able nobles. The second great faction was the harem party, whose influence was almost wholly evil. The interests of this party were served beyond the walls of the harem by Akbar's foster relatives. The most influential of Akbar's nurses was Jiji Angah (Foster Mother) whose husband Shamsuddin Khan had saved the emperor Humayun from drowning and was honoured after his wife's advancement, with the title of Atgah (Foster Father) Khan. Maham Angah had been Akbar's chief nurse and her son Adham

Since an anti Bairam Khan party had come into existence after he assumed power, Bairam Khan organised his party of flatterers to counteract the influence of his opponents.¹ Under the influence of the flatterers, he developed a complex entirely harmful to him. They really quickened his fall as Von Noer rightly thinks.² Mohammad Arif Qandahari emphatically states, "The friends of the said Khan (Bairam Khan) were outwardly friendly, they were in reality the enemies of the state."³ Bairam Khan never realised that they were actually sealing his doom. Abul Fazl also remarks, "In short Bairam Khan, on account of his carelessness and the instigation of envious, short-sighted men put aside this honest and able servant (Pir Mohammad Khan Sherwani), and with his own hand struck with a hatchet the foot of his fortune."⁴ He took wrong steps to gratify his

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Khan ranked as Akbar's foster brother. These foster relations are usually referred to by Muslim historians as Atgan Khail 'the Foster Father Cohort'. The Cambridge History of India, Vol.IV, pp. 71-74.

- 1 Badaoni says that not only Bairam Khan but even the emperor himself was often present at the house of Shaikh Gadai Kambu at singing parties, 'where the most object flattery rained down on all sides and which became a regular hypocrisy shop'. M.T.II(Lowe)p.22; Nizamuddin says that the pomp and grandeur of Shaikh Gadai rose to such a height that he was given precedence over the great men of Hindustan and Khurasan. T.A.II, B.De, p. 232.
- 2 Akbar by Von Noer, Vol.I, p.74.
- 3 Cf. Was Bairam Khan a rebel by Qazi Mukhtar Ahmad, p.58, Journal of Islamic Culture, 1947.
- 4 A.N.Vol.II. Eng. Tr. p. 132.

friends who in reality were fortune makers and showed lack of farsightedness in making various appointments.¹

Bairam Khan was in the end removed from power and dismissed by a coup d'etat in March, 1560 A.D.² The modern historians have underestimated the part played by Akbar in the dismissal of Bairam Khan.³ The fact cannot be denied that Maham Angah and her supporters like, Adham Khan, her own son, Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Mirza Sharfuddin Husain, were the main support of Akbar in his plan to get rid of Bairam Khan's yoke, it appears that the decision for dismissal and the plan adopted for it was mainly Akbar's own in which they eagerly participated because they were hostile to Bairam Khan. Some contemporary historians,⁴ make Akbar mainly responsible for the plot while others make him ignorant of it before his leaving Agra and shift the responsibility on Maham Angah, Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Adham Khan *and others* etc.

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- 1 The appointment of Haji Mohammad Khan Sistani to the post of his (Bairam Khan's) Wakil in place of Pir Mohammad Sherwani and the appointment of Shaikh Gadai Kamba to the post of Sadr. See A.N.Vol.II, Eng. Tr. pp. 132, 140, 161-163.
 - 2 A.N.Vol.II, Eng. Tr. pp. 141-142.
 - 3 Akbar the Great Mogul, V.A.Smith (2nd edn.) pp. 32-33; Akbar the Great, Vol.I, pp. 38-39 (end edn.) by A.L. Srivastava.
 - 4 A.N.Vol.II Eng. Tr. p. 141; T.A. II (B.De) p. 236; M.T. II Lowe, p.30.

Abul Fazl regards Akbar as the author of the plot and says, 'When the enlightened mind of His Majesty, the Shahinshah was aware of the frauds of this ungrateful crew (Bairam Khan), he before they disclosed their evil intentions, laid his closely hidden secret before the sincere and, united, such as Maham Angah, who was a marvel for sense, resource and loyalty, Adham Khan, Mirza Shariuddin Husain and other courtiers and intimated that he would ... assume sovereignty and would inflict suitable punishment on Bairam Khan and his assemblage of flatterers.'¹ Akbar impatient of the tutelage of Bairam Khan, wanted to dismiss him and he took the initiative. The dismissal of Bairam Khan was achieved by a coup d' etate, planned by Akbar, organised by Maham Angah and worked by all who were hostile to the Khan-i-Khanan, Bairam Khan.² The first phase in the organisation of nobility came to an end with the dismissal of Bairam Khan in 1560 A.D.

The first phase brings to light certain important developments in the organisation of the nobility. Firstly, Bairam Khan, an Irani noble being the highest official of the state, the Irani nobles and officers rose in power and

1 A.N.Vol.II, Eng. Tr. p. 141; T.A. II(B.De),p.236.

2 'Akbar and coup d'etate of March 1560' by Sukumar Ray, I.H.C., 15th Session, Gwalior, 1952, pp. 206-210.

distinction whereas the Turani nobles were the silent spectators of the scene. Pir Mohammad Khan Sherwani, an Irani noble was given the title of Nasir-ul-mulk¹ and appointed Wakil of Bairam Khan. He exercised so much power that Abul Fazl says that though in name he was Bairam Khan's Wakil, in fact he was the wakil of the empire.² All the political and financial affairs were regulated according to his weighty judgement.³ Shaikh Farid Shakhari, the author of the Takhirat, says that Tarikh-i-Nizami from the source of Daftar-i-Akbari mentions that twenty-five persons among the servants of Bairam Khan, got alam (standard), naqqara (kettle-drum) and rose to the distinction of the mansab of 5000.⁴ Haji Mohammad Khan Sistani who succeeded Pir Mohammad to the post of Bairam Khan's wakil was also an Irani.⁵ Shah Quli Naranji, Wali Beg Zulqadr, Husain Quli Beg etc. who belonged to the Iranian stock, rose in power.⁶

1 A.N.II.Eng.Tr. pp. 71, 162-163.

2 Ibid., p.90.

3 Ibid., p. 107; M.T. II, Lowe, p. 19; T.A.II(B.De)pp.230-32.

4 Z.K.Vol.I. p.19(Karachi Publication 1961) These persons rose to distinctions not all at once but it shows that Bairam Khan was a good judge of men.

5 A.N.Vol.II, Eng. Tr. p. 132; M.T. II(Lowe), pp. 19-22.

6 Ibid., p. 163.

Secondly, we find Bairam Khan seeking the support of other racial groups and establishing unity among the various racial groups, though outwardly. Ibn Hasan rightly say that 'it was only the personality of Bairam Khan which established peace in the country and saved the dynasty.'¹ Shaikh Gadai Kambu, an Indian Muslim, rose in power during the regime of Bairam Khan.² Abul Fazl tells us that though Haji Mohammad Khan was the wakil of Bairam Khan, he was only the nominal holder of the office, the real wakil was Shaikh Gadai who was the Sadr and in all political and financial matters Bairam did nothing without consulting him.³ We find the Iranis supporting the Turanis and the Turanis supporting the Iranis for political reasons. They could not afford to annoy each other in the face of external danger. After the battle of Panipat the Turani nobles like Ali Quli Khan Shaibani, Abdullah Khan Uzbek, Iskandar Khan Uzbek were also rewarded and promoted and they became the supporters of Bairam Khan.⁴

1 Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, by Ibn Hasan, p.121.

2 The author of Maasir-i-Rahimi says that Shaikh Gadai Kambu, son of Shaikh Jamal Dehlawi, in the reign of Emperor Humayun, when the army going towards Iraq, had reached Gujarat, the Shaikh had shown good hospitality to Bairam Khan. Later on he was enrolled among the servants of Emperor Akbar and when all the affairs of the state were looked after by Bairam Khan, he seeing the loyalty of the Shaikh, gave him the mansab of Sadarat. Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I, p. 648.

3 A.N.Vol.II. Eng. Tr. p. 132; Badaoni says that at the exaltation of Shaikh Gadai, went mourning from house to house and the princes and the nobles of the kingdom flew into a rage at the advancement, honour and unreasonable exaltation of Shaikh Gadai, M.T.II. Lowe, pp. 22-23.

4 Ibid. p. 71.

When Bahadur Khan Shaibani, brother of Ali Quli Khan Shaibani, after stirring up sedition and strife in Zamindwar, came to the court, he was allowed to do homage to the emperor and did not receive punishment due to the influence of Bairam Khan.¹ Bahadur Khan was a Turani noble and was a supporter of Bairam Khan.² Mihr Ali Sildoz and Qiya Khan Gang were other supporters of Bairam Khan who belonged to the Turani group.³

1 A.N.Vol.II, Eng. Tr. pp. 31-32.

2 Ibid., p. 147.

It is significant to note that Ali Quli Khan and Bahadur Khan (Uzbeg or Shaibani) have been regarded by some historians, Iranis or Khurasanis for all practical purposes because they were brought up in Persia and had persian background. See, 'The Mughal Court politics during Bairam Khan's regency by Iqtidar Alam Khan, I.H.C. 1965, Allahbad and also 'The Nobility under Akbar and the development of his religious policy, 1560-80 by Iqtidar Alam Khan, p. 31, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1968. It is difficult to agree with this statement. If Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan Uzbeg became the supporters of Bairam Khan for political reasons it does not mean that they were not Turanis. We find Ali Quli went against Bairam after Burj Ali's death and Bairam Khan could not rely even upon Bahadur Khan's support when he thought off going to the east. Their loyalty could not be taken for granted. In Fact, after the execution of Burj, Ali, the trustes servant of Ali Quli, the whole Uzbeg clan, who once supported Bairam Khan, went against him. Bahadur Khan, though a great friend of him, left him and joined the king and was posted at Kabul to oppose him. See the article 'Was Bairam Khan a rebel?' by Qazi Mukhtar Ahmad, pp. 68-69, Islamic Culture 1947, A.N.Vol. II, Eng. Tr. p. 147.

3 Iqtidar Alam Khan says that some of the Chaghtai nobles like Qiya Khan Gang and Mihr Ali Sildoz stood by Bairam Khan upto the last moment. See, The Mughal Court politics during Bairam Khan's regency I.H.C., 1965. But Abul Fazl says that Qiya Khan Gang was the first to leave Bairam Khan and to join the emperor. A.N. ID, Eng.Tr. p. 144; Badaoni also agrees with Abul Fazl. M.T.II. Lowe, p.31. Mihr Ali Sildoz too does not seem to have stood by Bairam Khan upto the last moment. See M.T.II, Lowe, pp. 26-27.

Thirdly, the nobles of the period were busy in knitting their own nests and liked flattery. Those who could not flatter met with tragic ends. Iranis played against the Iranis even, when their interests clashed. When in the third Regnal Year, 1558-59 A.D., a quarrel arose between Pir Mohammad Nasirul-mulk and Shaikh Gadaï Rambu, Bairam Khan instead of siding with Nasir-ul-mulk, an Irani noble, took the side of Shaikh Gadaï, an Indian Muslim because the Shaikh was a great flatterer of Bairam Khan. Nasirulmulk was much grieved and did not come to court but in the end a reconciliation was made.¹ Again when Ali Quli Khan, a Turani noble, had developed affection for a camel driver's son, Nasirulmulk wanted to punish him for his bad behaviour but Bairam Khan took the side of Ali Quli and regarded his lawless acts as unacted.² At that time Nasir-ul-mulk was all powerful. Disregarding the partiality of Bairam Khan, he even got killed Burj Ali, the trusted servant of Ali Quli. Bairam Khan was much vexed at the happening and cherished revenge.³ Finally, Bairam Khan removed Pir Mohammad Nasirulmulk from the post of his wakil and thus the frown which had been behind his brow came out.⁴

1 A.N.Vol.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 102-103; M.T.II(Lowe)pp. 22-23.

2 Ibid., pp. 105-107.

3 Ibid., p. 107.

4 Ibid., pp. 130-132; Badaoni gives another reason of jealousy between the two. During an hunting expedition Bairam Khan felt hungry and asked his private men if there was no provision in store whereupon Pir Mohammad offered to entertain him with whatever he had. So Bairam Khan alighted under a tree with his suit and 3000 drinking cups and 700 porcelain dishes were brought from the travelling stores of Pir Mohammad. Bairam Khan was astonished to see and became jealous of Pir Mohammad in his heart. M.T.II(Lowe), p.19.

Bair Mohammad was sent off to go to the pilgrimage and he set off for Gujarat. This reflects the extreme limit to which an Irani could go against another Irani for his own selfish ends.

Fourthly, those who enjoyed the highest authority in the state did not tolerate other people's rise and in order to maintain their power they ignored the interests of the state. Khwajah Jalaluddin Bujak was an Irani noble who considering himself completely loyal to the king did not consider it proper to pay homage to other influential officers of the state. But as the nobles of the age liked flattery, many nobles went against him. When Ghazni was given to Khwajah Jalaluddin, Munim Khan who was acting as regent of Mirza Hakim in Kabul, meditated revenge on him.

In India too the officers of the state stirred up Bairam Khan to kill him. Khwajah Jalaluddin was put into great dilemma. He could neither come to India where Bairam Khan was in power, nor go to Kabul where Munim Khan was thinking of revenge, though outwardly he was well-disposed towards him, nor could he run away from the dominion to another country because he considered disloyalty to the throne a great sin. Munim Khan on the other hand tried to take him into confidence and sent some men to bring him to Kabul. When the Khwajah reached Kabul, Munim Khan put him into prison and later on endeavoured to make him blind. When his eyes were lanced several times, he was left on the presumption that he had become blind. But as his end had not yet arrived, the brightness of his eyes had not dimmed and

he proceeded to India on the imagination that even if Bairam Khan and his men got him executed, he would at least enjoy the happiness of dying at his master's feet. As his fate was written otherwise, Munim Khan came to know of this and sent swift inquisitors to bring him. They caught him and his younger brother Jalaluddin Masud and brought them to Munim Khan who imprisoned both of them and afterwards got them killed. Bairam Khan too had sent an order to Munim Khan to put them to death. In this way the two extremely loyal men of the state were killed through the conspiracies of those who enjoyed power.¹ Similarly, Nasirulmulk who was very loyal to the state and had always worked in the interests of the state, was removed from the post of wakil by Bairam Khan who doubted that Nasirulmulk might not endanger his power. Thus Bairam Khan put aside the honest and able man of the state.²

1 A.N.Vol.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 108-110.

2 Ibid., pp. 130-132; M.T.II (Lowe) pp. 19-22; Nizamuddin says that Fir Mohammad Khan was the fully empowered agent (Wakil-i-mutlag) of the Khan-i-Khanan, Bairam Khan and all matters of government were entrusted to him. Things came to such a height that he became the asylum and protector of all the great officers and nobles of the state and among the nobles and the common people, few of those who went to the door of his house, obtained an audience. T.A.II. B.De. p. 230.

Though the nobles of the period played an important part in court politics, they never played the role of king-makers and the emperor was not a puppet in their hands. The rival groups of nobles played against one another to obtain power but they never aspired ^{to the} throne. The loyalty to the throne was unshaken.¹ Though Akbar did not muddle with politics and allowed Bairam Khan to work on his own initiative, he was not a puppet in his hands. He was studying the character of men and was willingly playing the role of a silent spectator. In the words of Abul Fazl the emperor was 'behind the veil' and had made over the whole business of sovereignty to Bairam Khan.² But it does not mean that the emperor did nothing on his own initiative. On several occasions, we find that Akbar worked on his own initiative and Bairam Khan had to keep quite and tolerate even against his wishes. First of all, the emperor refused to give permission to Bairam Khan to kill Shah Abul Maali. Accordingly, Bairam Khan had to surrender and keep himself satisfied with his imprisonment.³ Secondly, when Akbar

1 The learned historian Nurul Hasan says that since the position of the nobles depended on the king, it was necessary that they should support a king favourable to them. The traditions of the Mughals divided the loyalties of the nobles. Although they owed a general loyalty to the ruling house, they were not always loyal to any particular individual. In the absence of the law of primogeniture and the prevalence of the Mughal tradition of dividing the kingdom among different sons of the ruler, the group of nobles, in order to increase their own power, would sometime back up one member of the ruling house, sometime the other. The opportunism of the nobles was, inherent in their class due to the characteristic nature of its institution. They tried their best to support the winning party. See the article 'New light on the relations of the early Mughal rulers with their nobility by Nurul Hasan, J.I.H.C. 7th Session, Madras, 1944, pp. 339-397.

2 A.R.II.Eng.Tr. p.132.

3 A.R.II.Eng.Tr.pp. 28-30; P.A.II, B.S., pp. 209-10; M.A.II, Lowe, pp2-100AL II pp. 127-128

expressed his wish to enter into matrimonial alliance with the daughter of A. Abdullah Khan Bughal, Bairam Khan did not approve of this match and opposed it on the ground that Abdullah Khan's sister had been married to Mirza Kamran (Akbar's uncle) and therefore, he regarded him as a partison of Kamran. In spite of all this, Akbar married Abdullah Khan's daughter.¹ Thirdly, when Akbar saw that Ali Guli Shaibani was working against the royal wish and disobeying him in intoxication of power, he ordered that a number of brave men should be appointed so that Ali Guli might be removed from his absolute authority. Ali Guli was a close friend of Bairam Khan and the latter did not want that an army should be sent against the former but he had to keep quite.²

By the end of the first phase, the Turani group of nobles had started coming into power. So long Bairam Khan was at the realm of affairs, he remained always suspicious of the Turani group.³ Till the beginning of fifth Regnal Year

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 88.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 105-107, 125-126.

3 Bairam Khan was always suspicious of Adham Khan, a Turani noble and gave him Hatkant (near Agra) in jagir. The landholders of that place were famous for courage and were in revolt. In this way Bairam Khan killed two birds with one stone. Adham Khan's removal from court was in the interest of Bairam Khan and the rebels of that quarters would get punishment at the same time. Munim Khan, another Turani noble remained neutral in Kabul. Shamsuddin Atgah Khan a Turani noble was posted at Bhera and thus kept him away from court. He was suspicious of Atgah Khan. He could not completely rely upon the loyalties of the Uzbek nobles who belonged to the Turani group.

See A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 91-92, 94, 119-120, 143; 147.

(1560-61 A.D.) the power of Bairam Khan had exceeded all bounds. Uptill now Akbar had been winking over his improper acts because he was his ataliq (guardian) and an old, experienced and loyal servant of the state and Akbar in respect used to call him 'Khan Baba' (father).¹ But now when his authority had crossed all limits and he had even started usurping the royal authority,² Akbar thinking that he might not endanger his position, tried to get rid of him and remove him from the extraordinary position he had been so far enjoying. No longer Bairam Khan lost the confidence of the emperor, the nobles and other officials, being loyal to the throne, 'one-by one' and two by-two' began to leave Bairam Khan and joined Akbar. Even the Irani nobles left him and joined the emperor.³ With his dismissal, the first phase came to an end.

1 A.N.Vol.II. Eng. Tr. p. 140; Arif Qandahari, (Rampur 1962) p.58.

2 A.N.Vol.II Eng. Tr. pp. 139-140. Bairam Khan put to death one of the emperor's own elephant driver. The royal elephant became mast and went out of the control of the driver and attacked one of Bairam Khan's elephants. Bairam Khan was so enraged that he put the driver to death, an act which was beyond all limits and transgressed both loyalty and respect. More strange still was that one day while Bairam Khan was boating in the Yamuna, near Agra, one of Akbar's elephants got out of hand and ran towards his boat. Bairam Khan was alarmed but the driver managed to control the elephant. In order to pacify Bairam Khan, Akbar sent the driver with his hands bound to beg forgiveness, though he was innocent. But Bairam Khan put him to death without taking into consideration that the driver belonged to Akbar.

3 A.N.II.Eng. Tr. p. 144-145. The first man to leave Bairam Khan and to proceed to Akbar was Qiya Khan Gang who was an old and able officer. Haji Mohammad Khan Sistani and Khwajah Amiruddin Mahmud of Herat were among the Irani nobles who left Bairam Khan and joined Akbar. Badaoni says that with the exceptions of Wali Beg Zulqadr; Husain Quli Khan (afterwards entitled Khan-i-Jahan); Ismail Quli Khan, his brother; Shah Quli Khan Mahram; Husain Khan a relative of Mehdi Qasim Khan, none remained with Bairam Khan. M.II. Lowe, p.33.

Finally, we find that the numerical strength of the racial groups remained almost the same in this period. The two most prominent racial groups in the nobility of Akbar at the time of accession were the Turanis and Iranis and of these two groups the Turanis enjoyed pre-dominant position. In the period between 1556 A.D. ^{and} 1560 A.D., though the Iranis were in power, the composition of the nobility remained the same during the regime of Bairam Khan. In spite of the promotions received by a few persons of Persian origin namely Haji Mohammad Khan Sistani, Wali Beg, Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, Khwajah Jahan Aminuddin Mahmud of Herat, Husain Quli Beg ^{and then} etc. the Turani group still ~~constituted~~ constituted the larger section of the nobility.¹ The following table prepared on the basis of the list of nobles who accompanied Humayun to Hindustan in 1555 A.D. shows that the nobility inherited by Akbar consisted of mainly Turanis and Iranis and of the two the Turanis were in majority.²

1 The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of the religious policy, 1560-80 an article by Iqtidar Alam Khan, pp. 29-36, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1968; A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p.163.

2 Ibid., p.35, Appendix 4. For this analysis the list of nobles accompanying Humayun in 1555 A.D. as given by Abul Fazl is taken as the sample with the modification that the following six persons then known to be minor attendants or officials at Humayun's court have been excluded, Baqi Beg Yatishbegi, Khwajah Abdus Samad, Mir Syed Ali, Khwajah Ataullah, diwan-i-Khak or biyutat Mir Shihab, Khwajah Aminuddin Mahmud, Cf. A.N. Vol. I, Eng. Tr. p. 623. The Persian nobles with the exception of Bairam Khan, Mirza Nijat and Mirza Hasan were simply exalted scribes who could exercise but little influence. Turanis were 52.9 percent of the total and if it is kept in mind that a number of Turani nobles including Munim Beg were left behind in Afghanistan, there is every reason to believe that the actual percentage of the Turanis was much higher.

Period	Total no. of Nobles	Turanis	Iranis	Indian Muslim	Rajput and other Hindu	Un- speci- fied
1555 A.D.	51	27 (52.9%)	16 (31.37%)	-	-	8 (15.68%)

Second Phase- 1560 A.D. to 1562 A.D.

The second phase in the organisation of the nobility lasted for two years. The prominent feature of this phase was the tremendous influence of the harem in politics. The harem party had started coming into prominence gradually in the first phase¹ but it was only in 1560 A.D. that it

1. The execution of Tardi Beg had caused considerable alarm to those who were not prepared to tolerate the exercise of powers by the regent Bairam Khan as a defacto sovereign. It appears that this problem was discussed among the royal ladies, Munim Khan and the other senior nobles present in Afghanistan before the former's departure for Hindustan and as a result of these discussions a definite line of action was evolved to curb the powers of the regent. Apparently one of the measures agreed upon among the royal ladies and Munim Khan and other nobles for weaning away the young king from the influence of Bairam Khan was to marry the latter to the daughter of Mirza Abdullah Mughal, a son-in-law of Munim Khan. It is worth noticing that immediately after the arrival of Hamida Banu Begam and other ladies at Mankot, the proposal for such a marriage was made and much to the annoyance of Bairam Khan, the marriage took place with great pomp and show. From the circumstances it is clear, that prime mover was Hamida Banu Begam, Akbar's mother otherwise it would have been difficult for anyone to carry through the proposal in the teeth of Bairam's opposition. It is significant that organised opposition to Bairam Khan became possible only after the arrival of Hamida Banu and other royal ladies at court from Kabul. Before this even Maham Angah who later became the moving spirit behind the opposition to Bairam, was on cordial terms with him. She had been in the imperial camp and not at Kabul, and in October, 1556, she had supported Bairam Khan's action in executing Tardi Beg. An attempt was made on Bairam Khan's life soon after the arrival of the ladies.

really became a determining force. When Akbar decided to remove curtain from the improper acts of Bairam Khan and himself come to the stage to assume sovereignty, he disclosed this secret to Maham Angah, the nurse of the emperor; her son Adham Khan and Mirza Sharafuddin Husain. All these persons were in opposition to Bairam Khan.¹ Badaoni includes the name of Jadiq Mohammed Khan also who were opposed to Bairam Khan.² Maham Angah communicated this secret to Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, governor of Delhi and 'a favourite on account of his judgement, loyalty and truthfulness'.³

(Contd...)

That incident roused Bairam Khan's suspicions which were mainly against Maham Angah, Adham Khan and Shamsuddin Atgah Khan. He sent stern warning to Maham Angah and Shamsuddin Atgah Khan. See 'The Mughal court politics during Bairam Khan's regency' by Iqtidar Alam Khan. I.H.C. 1965, Allahbad; A.N. Vol.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 85-86; 88, 91-92, 94; T.A. II(B.De), pp. 222-224.

- 1 A.N.II. 141. All these persons, including the emperor were vered at the tyranny of Bairam Khan. Badaoni says that the emperor himself wished so because he had not absolute power in his own kingdom and sometimes had no voice in some of the transactions relating to expenses of the exchequer and because there was no privy purse at all and the servants of the emperor had but poor jagirs and were kept in the depths of poverty, while Bairam Khan's were in ease and luxury. M.T. II, Lowe, p.30.
- 2 M.T. II. 29 (Lowe).
- 3 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. 141. He was also related to Maham Angah through a matrimonial relation.

Akbar was independent by nature and it is difficult to believe that he was guided by others in his activities. But at the same time the fact can not be denied that the anti-Bairam party constantly filled his ears against Bairam and Akbar could not naturally be indifferent to it. He received the suggestions because he himself wanted them.¹ He now took definite steps to bring about the breach and left Agra on 19th March, 1560 A.D. On the pretext of hunting alongwith Maham Angah and the Khan-i-Khanan Bairam Khan remained at Agra to attend the affairs of the state.² Near

1 M.T.II. Lowe, pp. 29-30; T.A. II, B.De, pp. 236-37. There was a constant intrigue at the court to oust Bairam Khan. Nizamuddin makes Maham Angah, the centre of the intrigue. He says that Maham Angah thought in mind that there was no better course than what she should persuade His Majesty and in concert with Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan who was in those days in Delhi, they might attempt to do whatever might be proper. For this reason they represented to Akbar that his mother was suffering from illness and was constantly remembering him. Akbar started for Delhi to see his mother. Dadaoni also agrees with Nizamuddin in saying that Maham Angah represented to Akbar that his mother had fallen suddenly ill... and Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Maham Angah made mountains of mole hills and prejudiced the emperor's mind against the Khan-i-Khanan ~~the emperor's mind against the~~ Bairam Khan. Arif Qaudahari agrees with Abul Fazl and says that Akbar decided to separate himself from the Khan-i-Khanan and his group. Arif Qaudahari (printed at Rampur, 1962) pp. 56-58; Also see the article 'Akbar and the Coup D'etat of March, 1560 by Sukumar Ray, I.H.C., 15th Session, Gwalior, 1952, pp. 206-210.

2 A.N.Vol.II, Eng. Tr. p. 141; T.A. II (B.De) p. 236; M.T.II, Lowe, p.29.

Khurjan, Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and his brothers and other relatives came from Delhi to welcome Akbar. On 27th March, 1560 A.D. Akbar reached Delhi.¹ After the emperor's arrival at Delhi Maham Angah represented to him that when Bairam Khan would learn that the emperor had gone to Delhi at her instigation, he would take revenge upon her and she had no power to resist him. Therefore, she asked for permission to make a pilgrimage to Mekkah. The emperor could not at that critical moment part with Maham Angah for whom he had great affection and regard. Accordingly he sent a message to the Khan-i-Khanan Bairam Khan that since he had come without his leave and approval to Delhi, all his attendants were in terror and that he should be amicably inclined towards them to enable them to work with minds at ease in the emperor's service.²

The emperor now issued orders that as Bairam Khan had deviated from the path of loyalty, he disregarded him and came to Delhi; whosoever was loyal to His Majesty come to Delhi and they would be fully rewarded for their loyalty.³ When the news of Akbar's separation from Bairam Khan spread, men began to separate from Bairam Khan and proceed to court.⁴

1 A.R. Vol. II. Eng. Tr. p. 142.

2 M.T. II. Lowe, pp. 30-31; I.A. II. B.De. p. 238.

3 A.R. II. Eng. Tr. p. 143.

4 Ibid., p. 144; I.A. II. B.De, p. 239; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 31.

Under the present circumstances the office of Wikalat could not remain vacant, for long, therefore, Shihabuddin Ahmad and Maham Angah were appointed the joint wakils of the empire. All the political and financial affairs of the state were committed to their charge.¹ The policy of checks and balances was adopted by Akbar to keep his officers in ~~xxxx~~ check. With this end in view, Maham Angah was asked to join Shihabuddin Ahmad who was earlier alone looking after the administration. In this way, none of them could intoxicate with power. From the very beginning it is clear that though the holders of the office of Wikalat, were by no means worthless or incapable persons, this was only a temporary arrangement, for the promise of bestowing Wikalat was held out to Munim Khan of Kabul.² Shamsuddin Mohammad Khan Atgah, a Turani noble of great fame, who was in Bhera, (in the Shahpur district of Punjab) was asked to come to court rapidly.³ He was also to bring Mendi Qasim Khan along with

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 143-144; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 31. Badaoni says that Shihabuddin Ahmad and Maham Angah, being determined to go, though with the matter, spread abroad the news of the emperor's alienation from Bairam Khan and did ~~ut~~most publicity, apparently to increase the number of their supporters. Nizamuddin also says that Shihabuddin Ahmad, in consultation with Maham Angah, gave every one who came to court, hopes of rank and jagir. T.A.II. B.De. pp. 239-40.

2 'Maham Angah and Akbar' by R.P. Tripathi, pp. 237-344, J.I.H., 1921-22.

3 A.N. Vol.II. Eng. Tr. p. 143.

himself. Lahore which was earlier held by Husain Khan, a relative of Bairam Khan, was given to Mir Mohammad Khan-i-Kalan, elder brother of Shamsuddin Atgan Khan.¹ Munim Khan too was summoned from Kabul to Delhi.²

When Shamsuddin Atgan came to court, he was rewarded for his loyalty and given the standard, drum and tuman togh of Bairam Khan.³

When Bairam Khan became sure that he had been dismissed, he became highly confused. He sent Tarsun Mohammad Khan, Haji Mohammad Khan Sistani, Khwajah Aminuddin Mahmud to court to make apologies on his behalf and assure the emperor of his fidelity and good will.⁴ Now the emperor was under the influence of the anti-Bairam group whose position would have become critical had the emperor excused him.

1 A.N.Vol.II. Eng. Tr. p. 143.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., p. 145; M.T. II Lowe, p. 31; T.A. II, S.De. pp. 238-239. Abul Fazl says that Bairam Khan inquired about Abul Qasim (Kamran's son possibly to raise him to the throne. Nothing but sorrow and regret came to his hands. Of necessity he put his hand to deceit and sent above mentioned persons to court in order that he might succeed by smoothness of tongue. It should be remembered here that Abul Fazl did not like Bairam Khan and he puts all the blame on him and again and again accuses him of rebellion. Therefore, Abul Fazl cannot be completely trusted in this connection.

Therefore, the messengers sent by Bairam Khan were arrested and not allowed to leave the court.¹ When Bairam Khan learnt about the state of affairs at the court through their letters, he lost mental equilibrium. He called a counsel of his adherents at Agra. Shaikh Sadai, with several others advised him that before his opponents could do anything, he should go to the emperor and get him into power. Bairam Khan did not approve this advice, saying, 'since the heart of the emperor is alienated from me, any further friendly intercourse in public is out of the question, but how could I possibly assume any other guise! For, after spending a lifetime in loyalty to his person, in my old age to put a dishonourable stain on the forehead of my fortune were to cause me an eternal disgrace.'² He had always a desire to go to holy places and set off for Biyanah, intending to go to Hijaz by way of Nagor. He communicated his intentions to his friends and supporters and gave them leave to go to the court.³

1 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p.146.

2 M.T. II. Lowe, pp. 31-32.

3 M.T. II. Lowe, p. 32. Abul Fazl says that Bairam Khan wanted to come to the court but his opponents represented to the emperor that there was deceit in it and they tried their best to avoid a meeting between the emperor and Bairam Khan. They were not prepared for an open war, what would be the use of a meeting at that stage? Acting on their advice, the emperor sent Tarsen Mohammad Khan and Mir Habibullah to forbid Bairam from coming to court. A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 146. This brings to light two important facts. Firstly, that Bairam Khan still enjoyed the support of a large group, that his opponents were not ready for an open war. Secondly, those who supported Akbar knew that once Bairam Khan was allowed a meeting with the emperor, he would again win over the king and they would be punished for disloyalty to Bairam Khan.

When the news of Bairam Khan's departure from Agra reached the court, Maham Angan and Shihabuddin Ahmad informed the emperor that he had gone from Agra to Punjab with the object of conquering it.¹ So the emperor sent from Delhi a message by the hand of Mir Abul Latif Qaswini saying 'Our intention in coming to Delhi was simply to transact some important state affair on our own absolute authority. But since you have long had a desire to retire, and have taken the resolution of going to Hijaz, it is just as well that you should do so. And now you shall have as many parganahs in Hindustan as you please, and your agents shall forward the revenues of them to any place at which you may happen to be staying.'² When Mir Abul Latif came to Bairam Khan, ^{the} latter accepted the advice and told all the amirs who were with him to leave him and no one among the great men except Wali Beg Zulqa'ar, his sons Husain Quli Beg and Ismail Quli Beg, Shah Quli Mahram and Husain Khan, nephew(sister's son) and son-in-law of Mehdi Qasim Khan remained with him.³ From Nagor, he sent Husain Quli Beg with his paraphernalia of pomp, such as kettle drums and

1 T.A. II. B.De. p. 241; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 32; A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 148. Abul Fazl says that Bairam Khan spoke of Pilgrimage (haj) but inwardly he thought of crookedness (kaj).

2 M.T. II, Lowe, p. 32; A.N. Vol. II, Eng. Tr. pp. 152-153; T.A. II, B.De. p. 241.

3 T.A. II. B.De. p. 241; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 33; A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 157.

standards to court. The emperor was at the town of Jhajhar on his way from Delhi to Punjab when Husain Quli Beg arrived with Bairam Khan's insignia of power and the emperor was very happy at their surrender.¹

Pir Mohammad Nasirulmulk whom Bairam Khan had removed from the post of Wakil was going to perform pilgrimage. Hardly had he reached Gujarat when he heard about the fall of Bairam Khan. He at once proceeded towards the court, and met the emperor when he was at Jhajhar. The emperor received him with favour and raised him to the position of Khan and conferred upon him a standard and a drum.² Pir Mohammad Khan was then appointed along with other officers such as Adham Khan, Mirza Sharafuddin Husain, Rajnun Khan and others to go to Bairam Khan and 'pack him off as quickly as possible to Makkah without giving him any time for delay.'³

At court, Maham Angah was all powerful and with her wisdom she made Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Khwajah Jahan Raimuddin Mahmud her tools and tried her best to pacify those

1 M.T. II. Lowe, p.33; T.A. II. B.De. pp. 241-42; A.N.II Eng. Tr. p. 158. Abul Fazl says that he also sent some elephants.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 156; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 33; T.A. II, B.De.p. 242; Badaoni and Nizamuddin both say that on this occasion he was given the title of Nasirulmulk but we find in Akbarnamah that he had received this title after the battle of Panipat. See A.N.II.Tr. p. 71.

3 T.A.II, B.De. pp. 242-43; A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 157; M.T. II, Lowe, 33.

who came to court.¹ Her power and influence reached such a height that she herself appointed Bahadur Khan Shaibani to the office of Wakil and informed about this to Akbar, who kept quite seeing the necessity of time. The post of Wakil required a man of experience and great integrity. Maham Angah was a great diplomat and she made this appointment for three reasons.² Firstly, to put down commotion. A number of Turks such as Qiya Khan Gang, Sultan Husain Jalair, Mohammed Amin Diwana had joined Bahadur Khan Shaibani a Turani noble and were attacking Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Khwajah Jahan (they were Irani nobles and were in power).³ In order to satisfy this group, Maham Angah removed Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and appointed Bahadur Khan to the post of Wakil.⁴ Secondly, Bahadur Khan being an unexperienced man in Administration she could be able to enjoy the real authority without any opposition.⁵ Thirdly, she herself belonging to the Turani group, found an opportunity to appoint a Turani to the highest office of the empire and thereby gain

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 149.

2 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 149-150.

3 Qiya Khan Gang, Sultan Husain Jalair, and Bahadur Khan were all Turani nobles. R.P. Tripathi says that Bahadur Khan conspired with Sultan Husain Jalair and Qiya Khan Gang to kill Shihabuddin Ahmad and Khwajah Jahan, hence he was probably sent to Etawah. See, Maham Angah and Akbar, by R.P. Tripathi, p. 334, J.I.H. 1921-22.

4 A.N. II, Eng. Tr. pp. 150.

5 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 149-150.

the good name among the Turanis. No wonder she succeeded in suppressing the commotion. No sooner it was suppressed, she cleverly disbanded the opposite group which was responsible for the commotion. She gave Bahraich to Qiya Khan Gang in consideration of his old good services and sent him thither; Sultan Husain Jalair and others were imprisoned for sometime and then released. Mohammad Amin Diwana fled from court and became a vagabond. When all these mischief makers were separated, Maham Angah gave Etawah in jagir to Bahadur Khan Shaibani and dismissed him to that place.¹ Now though Bahadur Khan remained Wakil in name, the real ^{author} authority was in the hands of Maham Angah.²

After sending Pir Mohammad with an army towards Bairam Khan, the Emperor went back from Jahajnar to Delhi. Now he sent a farman summoning Munim Khan who was in Kabul, in order to invest him with the office of Wikalat.³

When Bairam Khan got the news of the coming of the imperial army under Pir Mohammad, he left the imperial

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 150-151.

2 Ibid., p. 151. Abul Fazl says that for the office of Wikalat required wisdom and courage and in truth Maham Angah possessed these two qualities in perfection. 'Many a woman treads manfully wisdom's path'.

3 T.A.II, B.De. p. 243; M.T. II, Lowe, p. 34.

territories and took shelter with Rai Kalyan Lal of Sikaner.¹ After spending several days with him, he proceeded towards Punjab.² When he reached Tabarhinda (in Sirhind), he left his son Abdurrahim (who was then in his third year) and other members of his family and his baggage there with Sher Mohammad

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- 1 Badaoni says that on the confines of Sikaner, Shaikh Gadai, a great friend of Bairam Khan, also separated from him. M.T. II. Lowe, p.33. Qazi Mukhtar Ahmad says that he had yet no intention of rebellion. His greatest friend would have struck to him, had he matured any idea of rebelling against his enemies.
 - 2 T.A. II. B.De. p. 243; M.T. II, 34; A.E.II.Eng. Tr. p.159. Abul Fazl says that under the influence of ill-intentioned person Bairam Khan proclaimed himself a rebel. He had come to know that his opponents had turned the mind of the emperor against him, especially Maham Angah who was in great authority, was responsible for this breach and making ever effort to ruin him. Therefore Bairam Khan decided to take revenge and punish his opponents and with these intentions, he proceeded towards Punjab, but he wrote to the officers on the borders that he had been proceeding towards the Hijaz. Badaoni and Nizamuddin both mention that Bairam Khan was very much grieved at heart, when he heard that Pir Mohammad was sent in pursuit of him. Pir Mohammad was once Bairam Khan's servant and his blood boiled to see him coming against himself. He became terribly desperate and at the instigation of some persons who wanted to create disturbance, he determined on hostility. Qazi Mukhtar Ahmad, who is not ready to accept Bairam Khan a rebel, is of the view that Abul Fazl's allegation that he wrongly wrote to the officers that he was going to Mekka, is baseless. When he was going to ally himself with them, there was no sense in telling a lie. He was a man after all and it would have been unnatural for him had he not decided upon war. He sincerely believed that the king had been kidnapped by his enemies. He decided to wage war not against the king or the state but his enemies who according to him were the malcontents of the empire. Further Qazi Mukhtar Ahmad is not ready to accept Smith's contention that the orders to despatch Pir Mohammad to 'pack him off to Mecca' excited him to rebel. It did not excite him, for Pir Mohammad was the only person who could discharge this duty for he knew Bairam's temperament. Further Pir Mohammad had been instructed not to injure Khan's feelings. Bairam decided to wage war when Pir Mohammad was far off

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Diwana, who was the jagirdar of that place and one of the close friends of Bairam Khan.¹ When Bairam Khan reached Dabulpur, he heard that Sher Mohammad had taken possession of all goods left by him and treating his family members with much cruelty. Upon this, Bairam Khan sent Khwajah Muzaffar Ali Turbati and Darvesh Mohammad Uzbek to Sher Mohammad so that they might soothe him and bring him to obedience towards Bairam Khan. But Sher Mohammad imprisoned Khwajah Muzaffar Ali and sent him to the court. This blow caused Bairam Khan more despair than all the rest besides and he set off for Jullundhar in great confusion.²

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in Gujarat. His excitement was not due to this but a series of circumstances and the excitement was but natural. Akbar's arrival in the Punjab completed it. War was now inevitable. See 'Was Bairam Khan a rebel?' by Qazi Mukhtar Ahmad, p. 71, Islamic Culture, 1947.

1 T.A.II. B.De. pp 243-44; M.T. II, Lowe, p. 34.

2 T.A. II. B.De. p. 244; M.T. II. Lower, p.34; A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 166-167.

The English translation of Akbarnamah is confusing here. It says that Darvesh Mohammad Uzbek imprisoned Muzaffar Ali who had come to fetch him and sent him to court and he himself became loyal. A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p.167.

Earlier Abul Fazl tells us that Bairam Khan had sent Khwajah Muzaffar Ali to Darvesh Beg Uzbek who was one of the great officers of the Punjab and had been educated by him, in order that he might bring him by filling him with hopes, A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 159-160.

The author of the Zakhirat agrees with Nizamuddin and Badaoni in stating that Bairam Khan sent Khwajah Muzaffar Turbati, who was his diwan and afterwards became Muzaffar Khan with Darvesh Beg to soothe him but Sher Mohammad arrested Muzaffar Ali and sent him to the court of Akbar. Z.K. Vol.I. p.16.

The author of Tarikh-i-Arif Qaudahari agrees with Abul Fazl to some extent. He says that ~~wika~~ Sher Mohammad confiscated

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When the news of Bairam Khan's departure towards Punjab reached Akbar, he appointed Shamsuddin Mohammad Atgah Khan along with his son Yusuf Mohammad Khan, Mehdi Qasim Khan, Mohammad Qasim Khan of Nishapur and a number of others to oppose Bairam Khan and prevent him from coming to Punjab.¹ After sending an advance party under Shamsuddin, the emperor himself decided to follow him to take precaution. Before leaving Delhi, he appointed Khwajah Abdul Majid the Wazir of the empire and conferred upon him the title of Asaf Khan. He was asked to look after the administration of Delhi.² As a precautionary measure Husain Guli Beg, a relative of Bairam Khan, was put into prison and placed in charge of Adham Khan who was specially ordered by the emperor that he would be solely responsible if any injury occurred to Husain Guli. Akbar left Delhi on 12th August, 1560 A.D.³

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the goods of Bairam Khan and on the way Bairam Khan sent Muzaffar Khan with Darwesh Uzbek to the emperor and expressed a desire to meet him but the emperor refused. See Arif Qandahari, p.61 (Rampur Print, 1962). Bayazid too agrees with Abul Fazl and says that Bairam Khan sent Khwajah Muzaffar Ali Diwan to Dipalpur to call Darwesh Uzbek who was in the service of Bairam Khan. But Darwesh Uzbek had become a rebel against his master (Bairam Khan) and he arrested Khwajah Muzaffar Ali Diwan, Bayazid, Calcutta, 1941, edited by M. Hidayat Husain, p.226.

- 1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 168; M.T.II, Lowe, p.34; T.A.II.B.De.p.245.
- 2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 168-169; T.A. II. B.De. p.246; M.T.II, Lowe, p.38.
- 3 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p.169; T.A. II. B.De. p. 246; M.T.II, Lowe, p.38. Both Badaoni and Nizamuddin say that Husain Guli Beg was placed in charge of Asaf Khan but Abul Fazl has Adham Khan.

When Bairam Khan learnt that Shamsuddin Mohammad Atgah was coming against him, he decided to give battle and divided his army into two bodies - one advance guard, consisting of Wali Beg; Shah Quli Khan Mahram, the brothers of Wali Beg, Ismail Quli Beg, Husain Khan Tukriya etc. and another army was under his own direction.¹ Abdul Fazl says that though Bairam Khan had not many men with him, they were of good quality whereas on the imperial side there were many persons who were of fluctuating nature and they were writing letters to Bairam Khan to assure him of their support.² Shamsuddin Atgah Khan did not lose courage and prepared himself to attack whereupon his son Yusuf Mohammad Khan said, 'Most of our men have thrown the dust of disgrace on their heads and gone off, where is the time for fighting?' The Atgah Khan replied, 'though men are few, the Shahinshah's fortune is on our side, and besides we do not think of flying: this is a day of killing or being killed.'³ He sent on Yusuf Mohammad Khan with a body of brave men and himself became ready to oppose with another body of troops. Finally, Bairam Khan was defeated and he fled to the hilly-country of Siwalik. Wali Beg, with his son Ismail Quli Beg, Husain Khan, Ahmad Beg and Yaqub Beg Hamadani

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 170; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 35, T.A.II, S.De. pp. 245-46.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 170-171.

3 Ibid., p. 172.

were made prisoners.¹

Emergence of Turanis

The appointment of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan against Bairam Khan was not liked by the Maham Angah group. This group put every obstacle in the way of Atgah Khan by delaying supplies and misrepresentating his conduct to the emperor, and left no stone unturned to bring discredit to him, for if Atgah Khan succeeded against Bairam Khan, his influence was sure to increase.² Mirza Aziz Kokah, the son of Atgah Khan who was in the company of the emperor, wrote to his father and reported the real state of affairs in these words: 'Father, men's words have killed us. Whatever is your fate will happen. By all means act quickly and dispose of the affair of Bairam Khan.'³ The question arises why was the leadership of the expedition given to Atgah Khan, if the Maham Party was so jealous of him. Was it done against their wishes? If not so, was it done to bring discredit on

1 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 172,178; M.T. II, Lowe, p. 35; T.A. II. B.De, p. 246. Wali Beg afterwards died of his wounds in prison. See A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 175.

2 Atgah Khan's opponents used Maham Angah as a mediator and through her tried to poison the ears of the emperor against him by saying that Atgah Khan was moving slowly at the speed of two kos a day, he was afraid and that the matters would not progress in his hands. In other words, he was deliberately making delay and did not want to end the affair of Bairam Khan. Therefore, they suggested to the emperor that his jagir and allowances should be taken back. See A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 183-184.

3 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 184.

Atgah Khan, who was a formidable rival for power to seal his doom? If so, why was Akbar allowed to march at his back with a large army and did the Maham party not realise that the defeat of Atgah Khan was bound to increase the presumption, prestige and power of Bairam Khan, who was far more dangerous than the Atgah Khan. It appears near the truth that the appointment of Atgah Khan and the emperor's march to support him, were against the wishes of the Maham party, which refused to take part seriously in the struggle between the emperor and Bairam Khan and left them to their own fate. This assumption further hold ground when we find that Maham Angah did not want that her son Adham Khan should accompany Shamsuddin Atgah Khan in the expedition against Bairam Khan.¹ The Maham party, however, kept the outward show of loyalty and had not the courage to express their indifference openly.

When the emperor, following Shamsuddin Atgah reached the town of Sirhind, Munim Khan along with other amirs arrived from Kabul.² At the same place Shamsuddin Mohammad

1. Abul Fazl says that after much discussion the emperor approved of Maham Angah's maternal solicitude and kept back Adham Khan. A.N.II, Eng. Tr. p. 168; also see the article Maham Angah and Akbar, by R.P.Tripathi, pp. 327-344, J.I.H. 1921-22.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 174; M.T. II, Lowe, p. 38; T.A. II. B.De, pp. 246-247. Both Nizamuddin and Badaoni had Ludhiana instead of Sarhind but Abul Fazl has Sarhind.

Atgah Khan and the other officers who accompanied him came after their victory over Bairam Khan.¹ The arrival of Munim Khan must have disappointed Atgah Khan who was hopeful of the office of Wikalat, especially because of his recent victory over Bairam Khan. Akbar was put in an awkward position, because Munim Khan had been specially invited to take charge of the wikalat of the empire. Any disappointment by Munim Khan would have at once been construed as a deceitful bluff and might have possibly compelled him to go back to Kabul. Akbar, therefore, conferred on Munim Khan the office of Wikalat and the title of Khan-i-Khanan but at the same time the emperor took every step to soothe the feelings of Atgah Khan.² The robes of honour which had been bestowed upon Bairam Khan, were presented to Atgah Khan and he was honoured with the title of Khan-i-Azam (or Azam Khan).³ This was not all. Akbar went to Lahore, hunting as he went, leaving the army under Munim Khan at Sarhind.⁴

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 174; T.A. II, B.De. p. 247; M.T. II. Lowe, p.38.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p.174; T.A. II. B.De. p.247; M.T. II. Lowe, p.38 and also the article Maham Angah and Akbar by R.P. Tripathi, p. 337, J.I.H. 1921-22.

3 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 174-175.

4 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 177.

At Lahore, the Atgah Khan held great feasts and the emperor 'exalted him by royal favours and made over the choicest parts of the Punjab to him and his brotheren.'¹ During the period of stay at Lahore, Shamsuddin, Khan-i-Azam fell ill and Akbar kindly left him there and himself came back to join the army left under Munim Khan.²

These acts of kindness could have hardly been approved of by Maham Angah and her associates like Adham Khan and Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan. Maham Angah tried her best to turn Akbar's mind against Khan-i-Azam but in vain. The appointment of Munim Khan to the highest office was an act of policy which was calculated to give some sort of satisfaction to Maham and her associates and to facilitate negotiations with Bairam Khan, who, so far had no apparent grievances against him.³ We find that Bairam Khan was very afraid of Chaghatai nobles who were his deadliest enemies and strained every nerve to bring him utter ruin and he offered to Submit if Munim Khan could give him assurance of the safe conduct to the emperor. Akbar agreed and in the end Munim Khan, Khwajah Jahan, Ashraf Khan and Haji Mohammad Khan Sistani were sent

1 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 177.

2 Ibid.

3 'Maham Angah and Akbar' by R.P. Tripathi, p. 338, J.I.H. 1921-22. The appointment of Munim Khan must have compromised the power of Shihabuddin and Maham but as their relations with him were cordial and he was neither offensive nor aggressive, it did not lead to any difficulty.

to assure Bairam Khan of favour and pardon and bring him to court.¹ When Bairam Khan saw Munim Khan, he became sure that the message of pardon was true and he embraced Munim Khan and showed excessive shame. He came to court and in utter humility asked for the pardon of his offences. Akbar embraced him and favoured him with a special robe of honour which he himself was wearing and after two days granted him leave to go to Makkah. Tarsun Mohammad Khan and Haji Mohammad Khan Sistani were sent to conduct him in safety to the confines of the empire.² Bairam Khan was, however, murdered by an Afghan when he was in Gujarat on his way to Makkah. This happened in January, 1561 A.D.³

The conclusion made by Qazi Mukhtar Ahmad to the question 'was Bairam Khan a rebel?' deserves to be quoted here: ' (1) Bairam Khan was not a rebel, morally or politically either against the king or against the empire because king was identical with the empire. (2) He was forced into rebellion by a set of intriguers. (3) The king himself was interested in his fall. (4) Though he was always a well-

1 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 179; Bayazid, pp. 229-230.

2 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 180-181; T.A. II. B.De. pp. 247-249; M.T. II, Lowe, p. 39; Bayazid, pp. 233-34.

3 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 200-202; T.A. II. B.De., pp. 249-50; M.T. II, Lowe, pp. 40-42. Mubarak Khan Nohani, an Afghan whose father had been killed in a battle in which Bairam Khan was in command, thought of taking revenge and killed Bairam Khan.

wisher of the state, power made him haughty and rude as a result of which he became unpopular. (5) He was lacking in practical politics and choose a wrong way of counter acting his enemies. (6) His temperament precipitated his fall (7) By singular lack of insight he lost the king's confidence. (8) His fall was not due to disloyalty but due to the assumption of too much power during which he committed every possible blunder. (9) Over and above all his fall was only a question of time. It would have come even if he had condiliated the nobles. His ill-advised actions simply quickened his fall.¹

It is difficult to agree with the statement that Bairam Khan was not a rebel. The first two statements made by him are contradictory to each other. On the one hand it is accepted that he was not a rebel, on the other hand it is mentioned that he was forced into rebellion. No doubt his intentions were not bad and he did not want to establish an independent empire. He never proclaimed rebellion by reading Khutba and striking coins in his name, as the rebels used to do. He never assumed sovereignty. In contrast, he several times thought of submitting but his opponents never permitted him to do so. Had he thought of rebellion, he would have attacked Delhi as his well-wishers advised him. Further, he would not have allowed his men to go to court. We find him himself giving permission to them to go to court.

1 'Was Bairam Khan a rebel?' by Qazi Mukhtar Ahmad, p.72, Islamic Culture, 1947.

He even allowed Shaikh Gadai, who was his closest friend to go to court. His greatest friend would have struck to him, had he matured any idea of rebelling against his enemies. He would not have returned the insignia of office and other honours, had he thought of rebellion. Further, it seems possible that he would not have even taken arms against the imperial army, had Akbar himself taken the command of the army and come face to face against him, instead of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan. Shamsuddin was his rival and seeing him in opposition, his blood boiled and he took arms. The fact admitted by Abul Fazl that Bairam Khan still enjoyed the support of the large group makes it clear that his cause was not a beaten cause.¹

As soon as he learnt about the death of Sultan Husain Jalair who was on the imperial side and was killed in the fighting, Bairam Khan decided to surrender. When the head of Sultan Husain Jalair was brought before him, he wept with great grief and said, 'My life is not of sufficient worth

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 170. In a letter to Akbar Shamsuddin Atgah Khan refers to a letter written by Bairam Khan to Darvesh Mohammad Khan stating, 'I am the slave and bondsman of His Majesty but I wish to take vengeance on His Majesty's wakils 'The paraphernalia of Bairam Khan's dignity was given to Shamsuddin Atgah Khan. Therefore, it is clear from the letter that Bairam Khan was loyal to the king and did not want to rebel but he considered Shamsuddin as his rival and wanted to take revenge. A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 182.

that on account of me, such men should be slain.¹ He immediately sent Jamal Khan, one of his slaves, to court and asked for forgiveness.² When surety of his life was given, he surrendered and had the happiness of dying in the service of the emperor and his life did not end in rebellion and contumacy.³

But the fact remains that Bairam Khan took arms against the imperial army and therefore, cannot escape from the charge of being called a rebel, reasons whatsoever may be. Abul Fazl, again and again calls him a rebel.⁴ The author of *Tarikh-i-Arif Qandahari*, who was in the service of Bairam Khan, also mentions that the emperor said 'the Khan (Bairam Khan) who was in our service for forty years and was brought up here, has forgotten all obligations and has come under the influence of instigators, therefore, we include him among the rebels.'⁵ One day Bairam Khan said to Haji Mohammad Sistani who was once in the service of Bairam Khan, 'No-one's opposition and infidelity hurt me so much as yours; you forgot all your old obligations.' Thereupon, Haji Mohammad replied 'you in spite of all the claims to loyalty

1 T.A.II. B.De. pp. 247-48; A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 178; M.T. II. Lowe, p.39.

2 T.A.II. B.De. p. 248; A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 179.

3 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 200.

4 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 140-141,142,145,148,159.

5 Arif Qandahari, p.57 (Rampur print, 1972); also see A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 148-149.

which His Majesty Jahanbani Jinnat Ashiyani (Humayun) possessed and all his nurture of you and all the kindnesses which you have received from His Majesty, the Shahinshah, (AKBAR) showed yourself a rebel and drew the sword and then occurred what has occurred. If I have left your society, what is there extraordinary? And what have I done.' Abul Fazl says that he has heard on good authority that Bairam Khan continually felt the pain these words had given him during the journey.¹ It makes it clear that Bairam Khan was a rebel, though he was forced into rebellion and he always remained shameful for doing so.

After the dismissal of Bairam Khan, Turani group came into prominence. Maham Angah exercised supreme ~~authorit~~ authority in the state and she was mainly interested in the advancement of her own son Adham Khan, a Turani noble.² Munim Khan who was the wakil of the empire was also a Turani noble. Now the emperor was under the influence of Maham Angah

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 181-182.

2 R.P. Tripathi here disagrees. He says that it has been alleged that her (Maham's) object was to strengthen the influence and advance the interest of her son and relatives but one fails to find in any authority any foundation for that charge. No titles, or jagirs or high offices are recorded as having been bestowed on them about this period, except that the prospective governorship of a part of the yet unconquered province of Malwa was probably intended for Adham Khan. See Maham Angah and Akbar, by R.P. Tripathi, pp. 338-39, J.I.H. 1921-22.

and she did whatever she liked. She could not tolerate the rise of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan and misrepresented him to the emperor as has been mentioned above. After the affair of Bairam Khan was over Shamsuddin Atgah, Khan-i-Azam wrote a letter to the emperor in which he complained that while those who were not present in the battle fought against Bairam Khan, had received ten-fold presents and favours, those who were the actual participants of the war received nothing. He had fought against Bairam with his twelve year child at the risk of his life, even when no great officer from the neighbourhood came to his help and the men with him were not reliable. Even those persons who were in the service of His Majesty (Akbar) but actually worked as spies for Bairam Khan, had been favoured by titles and grants of two or three krors. His own son Yusuf Mohammad Khan who actually fought with Bairam Khan and his man, received the title of Khan and a grant of one krur but the area had not been assigned. He himself received the title of Khan-i-Azam and a grant of one krur out of which only 40 lacs had been assigned in Firuzpur. He further requested to the emperor that as the robe of honour and his rank had been bestowed upon him, he would be very grateful if his office (of wikalat) be also conferred upon him.¹ ✓

1 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 182-185.

It is clear from the contents of the letter that Shamsuddin was not fully rewarded for his services rendered in the suppression of Bairam Khan. The reason is obvious that the real authority was in the hands of Maham Angah and she did not like his rise. Abul Fazl, referring to her influence remarks, 'Maham Angah, who was linked to His Majesty, the Shahinshah by real and ostensible ties, and to whose knowledge and perspicacity the bridle for opening and closing all affairs, political and financial, was through the blessings of the sublime regard to business, entrusted at this time.'¹ Therefore, it appears that the emperor kept silent for the timebeing.

From the very beginning of his reign, Akbar resented the excessive control of Bairam Khan and in the end when it became un^aberable, the emperor sought the help of Maham Angah who was an intelligent, courageous and tactful lady and was loved and respected by Akbar, on whom she had lavished her fond affections and to save whom she had exposed her very life at Kabul. Akbar was grateful to her and showed deep regard for her wishes and reposed confidence in her.² Both joined together in undermining the influence

1 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 204.

2 See T.A. II. B.De. p. 238.

of Bairam Khan.¹ But the part played by Maham in bringing the downfall of Bairam led her to make too high an estimate of herself and it possibly generated a desire to keep power either herself or in concert with her relatives. Now the affair of Bairam Khan was over and Akbar could not tolerate the excessive influence of Maham, we find that Akbar gave Maham Angah leave from the court on the ostensible pretext of marrying her elder son Baqi Mohammad Khan and she engaged herself in arranging the marriage feast. It appears that the leave was preparatory to retirement from active political life.²

As a regard for the services rendered by Maham Angah, Akbar, however, entrusted the command of the army sent for the conquest of Malwa, to Adham Khan, son of Maham Angah.³ Baz Bahadur, the ruler of Malwa was defeated and he fled towards Khandesh and Burhanpur. Adham Khan took possession of his buried and other treasures including his

1 The appointment of Atgah Khan to the leadership of the advance against Bairam first brought to light the jealousy of Maham. Upto this point, it is difficult to say whether Akbar was acting as a tool of Maham or vice versa. But in all probability, they were acting together against a common foe and there was no question of either's being used as a tool. See Maham Angah and Akbar, R.P. Tripathi, p. 343, J.I.H. 1921-22.

2 A.N. II, Eng. Tr. pp. 204-5; T.A. II. B.De. pp. 250-51.

3 A.N. II, Eng. Tr. pp. 208, 211; T.A. II. B.De. p. 252; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 42.

dancing girls and concubines.¹ After the victory, Adham Khan became infatuated and personally returned thanks to God for so great victory and performed the rites of thanks giving the distribution of alms etc.² Then the whole of the conquered territory was distributed. Sarangpur and some select paraganas were assigned to Adham Khan who was the ostensible leader; Mandu and Ujjain were assigned to the real leader Pir Mohammad Khan; Sarkar Handia was given to Qiya Khan and Mandesur and its appurtenants to Sadiq Khan.³ Adham Khan wrote an account of the victory and sent it to the court. He kept the whole of the seraglio and dancing and singing women of Baz Bahadur near himself and sent only some of the elephants with Sadiq Khan to court.⁴ At the same time Ali Quli Shaibani won a victory against the Afghans and he too became infatuated and did not send to court

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 213-14.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 214. Usually the emperor used to perform thanks giving to God and it was held that the victory was due to Shahinshah's favour and fortune. Pir Mohammad Khan advised him not to do so but he paid no heed.

3 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 214. R.P. Tripathi says that after the conquest, Malwa was divided into four divisions, which were held by four different persons and therefore, it cannot be accepted that Adham Khan was the sole governor of the entire province of Malwa or the royal favours were exclusively shown to him. Maham Angah and Akbar, J.I.H. 1921-22, p. 339.

4 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 214; T.A.II. B.De. p. 253; M.T.II, Lowe, p. 43.

the spoils of victory. But Akbar thought the correction of Adham Khan more important, probably due to the fear that the influence of the Maham group may not increase.¹ He left Munim Khan, the Khan-i-Khanan, Khwajah Jahan and a number of men in Agra and without informing the great officers, set off for Malwa on 27th April, 1561 A.D.² Adham Khan had no knowledge of the Shahinshah's expedition though Maham Angah had sent off swift couriers to inform him of the emperor's expedition and to enable him to make preparations for service.³ When Akbar reached in the neighbourhood of Malwa, Adham Khan who had come with the intention of conquering the fort of Gagraun, was amazed to see the emperor and pay homage after which the emperor came to Sarangpur, along with Adham Khan. Adham Khan pay homage after which the presented rare and beautiful things to the emperor but the emperor was not satisfied with his behaviour.⁴ The emperor refused to wear the clothes presented by Adham Khan but in the end at the intercession of the favourite courtiers, he

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 217.

2 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 217-218; T.A. II. B.De. p. 253. The Tabaqat has the date 8th May, 1561 of Akbar's leaving Agra; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 44.

3 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 219.

4 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 219; T.A. II. B.De. p.254. Nizamuddin says that Adham Khan having passed before the emperors eyes what he had obtained in the booty, wanted to keep some back but Maham Angah, his mother spoke to him, so that he presented whatever he had before His Majesty's eyes.

favoured him by putting on those clothes.¹ Adham Khan was looking for an opportunity to kill the emperor but in vain.² Next day Maham Angah arrived with the harem and she arranged a great entertainment and through her endeavours, Adham Khan rose from the sleep of negligence and tendered gifts. He produced before the emperor what ever he had obtained in booty, including all the wives, dancing girls and courtezans.³ Akbar accepted them and them presented him with some of them. On 17th May, 1561 A.D. Akbar left for Agra and Adham Khan came to see him off upto the first stage Adham Khan was again overcome with evil thoughts and intrigued with his mother's servants who waited in the royal harem and took away two special beautiful women among the Baz Bahadur's women from the Shahinshah's enclosures. He thought that as everybody was busy in

present
verb form
True

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- 1 Abul Fazl says that Adham Khan sent clothes in order that the emperor had come off a dusty ride and might put on fresh attire but as Adham's behaviour of loyalty was not pure, the emperor refused to wear the garments of hypocrisy. In the end, Akbar took pity on him and favoured him by putting on the fresh clothes sent by him. A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 220.
 - 2 Abul Fazl says that the harem of the emperor had remained behind and therefore, he slept that night on the roof of Adham Khan's house. That evil, inauspicious wretch was lying in ambush and was waiting for an opportunity, as perhaps the glance of the emperor might fall on his harem, and so the villian might take this a pretext and slay him. But the emperor was void of such thoughts and as he had made a long march he went into a long sleep and that black-hearted and ill-fated found no pretext for injuring him. A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 220-21.
 - 3 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 221.

preparations for departure, nobody will take notice of it. When the affair came to royal hearing, the emperor postponed the journey for a day and ordered the search of the lost ladies. Maham Angah thought that if those two women were introduced to the emperor, the veil over her acts would be removed and her son's treachery will be revealed. Therefore, she caused those two innocent ones put to death. When Akbar learnt about this, he winked at the affair because Maham was dear to him and said nothing and 'regarded the done as not done.'¹ On 4th June, 1561 A.D. Akbar came back to Agra.²

On 17th July, 1561 A.D. Akbar started for the east to punish Ali Quli Shaibani along with Munim Khan, Khwajah Jaham and others, leaving Muinuddin Ahmad Khan Farankhudi in charge of Agra. When he reached near Kerra (Allahabad District), Ali Quli and his brother Bahadur Khan awoke from the slumber of negligence and paid homage. They presented the varieties of that country as peshkash (offering) and tendered noted elephants. Akbar forgave them and came back to Agra (29th August, 1561, A.D.).³

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 221-22.

2 Ibid., p. 223.

3 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 228-30; T.A. II. B.De. pp. 256-57; M.T.II. Lowe, p. 44.

In November, 1561 A.D. Shamsuddin Mohammad Khan Atgah entitled Khan-i-Azam came from the Punjab to the court and did homage. The emperor appointed him to the post of wakil and the affairs of the empire-political and financial-were entrusted to him. He was asked to dispose of matters relating to the army and to the civil population according to his own sound judgement.¹ It has been earlier mentioned that Akbar tried to soothe the feelings of Atgah Khan and had even received a strong representation from him requesting the emperor to confer the wikalat on him. Since then there was a definite plan in the mind of the emperor which he now executed in spite of the serious opposition of Munim Khan, Shihabuddin Ahmad and Maham Angah. Abul Fazl says that 'Maham Angah, who from her excellent services, abundant wisdom, and exceeding devotion regarded herself as the substantive prime minister, was displeased at this. Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan too, who was the ostensible wakil and sat on the masnad as such was inwardly grieved at this.'² This act of the emperor gave a death blow to the Maham party and is a strong proof of his independence of mind at this time.³

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 230-233; T.A. II. B.De. p. 257.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 230.

3 Maham Angah and Akbar by R.P.Tripathi, p. 340, J.I.H. 1921-22.

Again we find that Akbar followed the policy of checks and balances to maintain proper balance between the highest officers of the state. Munim Khan and Shamsuddin Khan were to work together in the interests of the empire and Akbar made this arrangement so that the power might not be concentrated in one person. Munim Khan and Maham Angah should have looked upon this appointment as a providential help and have rendered thanks for the boon but in contrast they were grieved and vexed. Here again we find the nobles feathering their own nests and the interests of the state put into background. Akbar very skillfully utilised their services for the welfare of the empire by appointing Shamusddin to the management of affairs who undertook the service in straightforwardness and loyalty.¹ Another fact comes to light though the Turani group enjoyed power and prestige in this period, there were jealousies and rivalaries among them. Munim Khan and Shamsuddin were both Turanis but Munim Khan wanted to enjoy the ~~supremem~~ authority alone.

The appointment of Shamsuddin was soon followed by the recall of Adham Khan from Malwa which was now transferred to Pir Mohammad Khan. Adham Khan obeyed and came to court. Abul Fazl says that 'Maham Angah's heart, which was distressed by the separation from her honoured son, was thereby comforted,

1. A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 231.

while Pir Mohammad Khan was relieved of the burden of a colleague, and realised his hopes, . . . Adham Khan too was restrained from folly and thus guarded against destruction.¹ The emperor was determined to amend his ways.² It was now clear to Maham and her party that they had lost all influence over the emperor and now they began to poison the emperor against Atgah Khan whom they foolishly supposed to be the chief cause of the change. They blamed Shamsuddin for reducing the simple minded emperor just as Maham was blamed by Bairam and his party.³

After the departure of Adham Khan to court Pir Mohammad possessed absolute powers in Malwa. He led a force against Baz Bahadur, the ex-ruler of Malwa and got an immense booty. He pursued Baz Bahadur, crossed Narbada and took possession of a little fort near Asir. Meanwhile he learnt that Baz Bahadur had come with an army of Khandesh to attack Bijagarh. Pir Mohammad decided to oppose him and hurriedly proceeded to cross Narbada. While crossing Narbada, a string of mules kicked his horse and Pir Mohammad fell into the river and was drowned (1562 A.D.).⁴ The other

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 235; T.A. II. B.De. p. 257.

2 There is a long account of the cruelties committed by Adham Khan and Pir Mohammad in Malwa in Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh by Badaoni who was an eye witness. M.T.II. Lowe, pp. 42-43.

3 Maham Angah and Akbar, by R.P. Tripahi, p. 340 J.I.H. 1924-22.

4 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 256-259; M.T. Lowe, pp. 46-47; T.A. B.De. pp. 260-61.

officers of Malwa such as Qiya Khan Gang, Shah Mohammad Qilati, Habib Ali Khan ~~etc.~~ ^{and then} saw that it was beyond their power to hold Malwa and fled to court and received punishment. Baz Bahadur again took possession of Malwa.¹

Now Akbar appointed Abdullah Khan Uzbek, who possessed abundant courage and judicial calmness and had been formerly in that country (Malwa) and was familiar with its nature, for the conquest of Malwa. He was made the commander of the army and given high powers of life and death. Khwajah Muinuddin Ahmad Parankhudi was given the rank of Khan and was sent along with Abdullah Khan. After the conquest Abdullah Khan was to rule Malwa and Muinuddin was to return to court, after distributing jagirs among the officers. Again two officers of equal rank were appointed by Akbar to keep a check upon one-another. Abdullah Khan took possession of Malwa and Muinuddin after distributing the jagirs went back to court.² Both ~~of~~ them were Turani nobles.

Adham Khan, the son of Maham Angah was intoxicated with youth and riches and had neither understanding nor good conditions. He was always jealous of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan;

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 259; M.T.II. Lowe, p. 48; T.A. II. B.De. p. 261.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 260-61; T.A. II. B.De. pp. 261-62; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 48.

Munim Khan too was jealous of him and used to instigate Adham Khan to strife and intrigue.¹ Badaoni says that Adham Khan was jealous of the Atgah Khan because the emperor had taken the premiership from Maham Angah and given it to him.² At last on 16th May, 1562 A.D. on a court day when Munim Khan, Shamsuddin Atgah Khan and Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan along with other officers were transacting public business in the royal hall, Adham Khan entered in a riotous manner along with some villians. The members of the assembly rose up to do him honour and the Atgah Khan rose half up. Immediately upon entering Adham Khan put his hand to the dagger and went towards Atgah Khan and then augerily signed towards his servants who cut him into pieces. After the murder of the Atgah Khan, Adham Khan proceeded towards the harem where Akbar was taking rest, presumely with evil intentions. But due to the vigilence of the door-keeper, he could not enter. Meanwhile the emperor learnt about the whole affair, and saw the blood-stained corpse of the Atgah Khan, he was amazed. He immediately came with a sword in his hand and saying, "Son of a fool, why have you killed our Atgah", killed Adham Khan.³

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 269; M.T. II. Lowe, p.49.

2 M.T. II. Lowe, p. 49.

3 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 269-272; M.T. II. Lowe, pp. 49.50; T.A. II. B.De. pp. 263-264.

Abul Fazl wonders why those who were present there (Munim Khan and Shihabuddin) did not kill Adham Khan when the latter proceeded towards the Atgah Khan and attacked him. Why they did not make a general rush and surround him. Apparently there was none who was loyal and everybody was in league with him.¹ Badaoni also says that Adham Khan killed the Atgah Khan at the instigation of Munim Khan, Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan (a syed of Nishapur who was related to Maham Angah) and some others who were jealous of Atgah Khan.² Nizamuddin, too, says that Adham Khan, at the instigation of Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Munim Khan and some others made an attempt on the life of the Khan-i-Azam, who was the wakil-us- sultanate (prime minister).³

When Yusuf Mohammad Khan, the elder son of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan heard about the murder of his father, he armed himself and his whole clan and came to take revenge upon Adham Khan and Maham Angah. They did not know that the emperor had paid no heed to Maham Angah's position and had done justice. When they saw the dead body of Adham Khan, they were satisfied and went back.⁴

1 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 270.

2 M.T. II. Lowe, p. 49.

3 T.A.II. B.De. p. 263.

4 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 273.

Maham Angah was at this time ill and was lying in bed in her own house. When she came to know that her son had committed such a blunder and the emperor had imprisoned him, maternal love brought her to visit the emperor to secure her son's release. When the emperor saw her, he said, 'Adham Khan killed our Atgah, we have inflicted retaliation upon him.' She humbly said, 'you did well', but she was not certain that her son had undergone capital punishment. Just then, the mother of Dastam Khan came from Adham Khan's house and told Maham Angah the whole story. The emperor did not permit her to see the dead body of her son which was in bad condition and in regard of her old services, tried to console her. But she could not tolerate the separation of her son for long and left this world to meet her son after forty days.¹ With the death of Maham Angah the second phase came to an end.

Third Phase 1562 A.D.-1575 A.D.

After the murder of Adham Khan, the people who had abetted the lawless and base act such as- Munim Khan, Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Qasim Khan Mir Bahr-sequestered

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 274-75; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 50; T.A. II. B.De. p. 264; R.P. Tripathi says that it was Akbar who in the later stages used Maham as his tool in crushing his enemies. As soon as he found her unwilling to cooperate further and she was determined to keep her influence and that of her relations, he set her aside and selected new weapons. Within the course of a year and a half she found that her influence had completely vanished and she had to submit and acquiesce in the wishes of the emperor. Maham Angah and Akbar, by R.P. Tripathi, pp. 327-344. J.I.H. 1921-22.

themselves for fear of punishment. When the emperor came to know of this, he sent off Ashraf Khan Mir Munshi to reassure their minds and bring them back to service.¹ They felt ashamed and came back.² Munim Khan was again honoured with the title of Khan-i-Khanan and the position of wikalat (prime minister) and of guardian or ataliq.³ Munim Khan had got an idea imprinted in his mind that after the deaths of Adham Khan and of the Atgah Khan, none but he would have any power in the affairs of the state and all political and financial matters would be in his control without association with anybody else. But this did not actually happen.⁴ Melancholy took possession of him and having got an opportunity, one night he again fled from Agra to Kabul, in company of Qasim Khan Mir Bahr.⁵ When

1 A.N. II, Eng. Tr. pp. 272-73, 275; M.T. II. Lowe pp. 51-52; T.A. II. B.De. pp. 264-65. X

2 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 275; T.A. II. B.De. p. 265.

3 T.A. II. B.De. p. 265.

4 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. p. 278; T.A. II. B.De, p. 265.

5 When Munim Khan fled second time from the court, some mischief-makers suggested to Akbar that his property should be confiscated but he refused to do so and said that he would come back and even if he did not come back, he had gone to Kabul which was also in the imperial territory and as such he was still a servant of the court. Fear and not disloyalty had led him to do so. If he did not come, his property will be sent to him. *would* Therefore, none must meddle with Munim Khan's household. A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 278-279.

they arrived in paragana Sarut (in Doab) which was the jagir of Mir Muhammad Munshi, Qasim Ali Sistani who was Mir Muhammad's servant and had heard that two imperial officers had fled from the court, arrested them. Syed Muhammad Barha, who was one of the great officers, and had a jagir in the neighbourhood, brought Munim Khan to his own house and after treating him with hospitality brought both of them to court. The emperor ignored their offences and pardoned them. Munim Khan was reinstated in the office of wakil and favoured with the title of Khan-i-Khanan. So the Khan-i-Khanan, in conjunction with Shihabuddin Khan and Khwajah Jahan continued to conduct public affairs.¹

Entrance of Rajputs

By the year 1562 A.D. Akbar had seen that neither the Turani nor the Irani nobility was fully reliable. Whichever group came into power, it was interested in furthering its own interests and aspired for the downfall of the other group. Therefore, Akbar decided to create a new class of nobility on whom he could fully rely upon. These new elements were the Rajput chiefs and the Indian Muslims (mostly Shaikhzadas, the majority of whom belonged to the families living on the Madad-i-mash grants or enjoying Zamindari

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 278-279; T.A. II. B.De. 265; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 52.

rights¹. Akbar had been very much impressed by the courage, bravery and faithfulness of the Rajputs. There were various reasons for including the Rajputs in the rank of nobility. Firstly, as Akbar was very much impressed by their martial qualities, he decided to utilise their services in the expansion of the empire and consolidation of the administration. Secondly, because the Afghans and the Rajputs were rivals in India, Akbar thought that they would be very helpful in suppressing the ~~Rajputs~~^{Afghans}. Thirdly, from the long experience of the sultanate period, it had become evident that the foreign rule could not be popular without the local support. Therefore, it appears Akbar decided to appoint Rajputs in the civil and military services to make his rule popular. Fourthly, the Mughal nobles had monopoly on all the high posts of the empire. Sometimes unworthy and dishonest persons were appointed who because of their inexperience and lack of judgement made the matters worse donfounded and the result was chaos and confusion.² The Akbar decided to break their monopoly on the administrative posts by widening the scope of recruitment. Now the Rajputs were also appointed to the high posts and the appointments were made on the basis of merit and ability.

1 The Nobility under Akbar and the development of his religious policy, 1560-80 by Iqtidar Alam Khan, p.30, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1968.

2 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 276-77.

This ended the privileges enjoyed by the Mughal nobles and increased the efficiency of the administration. Fifthly, the Mughal rule was still foreign in character. Akbar seems to have realised that the inclusion of the Rajputs in the army and administration will shake off the foreign character of the Mughal empire. The root of the Timurid dynasty will be strengthened in the soil of Hindustan and India will become a national state. Dr. Ishwari Prasad rightly remarks that without the Rajputs, the establishment of the Indian empire was not possible and without their active cooperation, no social and political synthesis was possible.¹ Akbar's policy of matrimonial alliances with the Rajputs led to the cultural synthesis of two distinct cultures.

The first Rajput state to enter the Mughal service was the state of Amber (modern Jaipur). When Akbar was going to Ajmer in January, 1562 A.D. on the way, Jaimal and Rupsi came one after the other and were exalted by royal favours.² Rajah Bharmal, the ruler of Amber,³ had a great friend in the

1 The Mughal Empire by Dr. Ishwari Prasad.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 241.

3 The people of Amber disliked Askaran who had not only murdered his father Prithwiraj but also his brother for securing the throne of Amber. Bharmal, the third son of Prithwiraj took advantage and seized the throne of Amber on 25th June, 1547 A.D. according to the Genealogical Table in the state archives of Jaipur.

person of Chaghtai Khan at the Mughal court who recognised the qualities of the Rajah.¹ According to Umrai Hanood, Akbar wanted to meet Rajah Bharmal personally but the Rajah was not sure of the attitude of the emperor. Therefore, he sent his brother Rupsi and the latter's son Jaimal to Akbar in order to know his reaction.² Akbar was not satisfied with the visit of these two members of the Kachhwaha family as he wanted the personal attendance of Rajah Bharmal. When the desire of the emperor was conveyed to the Rajah Bharmal, he left his eldest son Bhagwan Das to look after the family at Amber and presented himself, with many of his relations before the emperor at Sanganer and they were introduced at court by Chaghtai Khan. Rajah Bharmal offered his daughter in marriage to Akbar who accepted his proposal and placed her among the ladies of the harem. Thus he raised himself from the rank of landholders(zamindars) and became a distinguished member of the court. Bhagwan Das, the eldest son of Rajah Bharmal; Man Singh, the son of Bhagwan Das and a number of their officers and relatives joined the imperial service and accompanied the emperor to the capital. Rajah Bharmal was given leave to go to his own estate.³

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 240.

2 Umrai-Hanood(Urdu), p. 76.

3 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 241-44; M.T. II. Lowe, pp. 45-46; T.A.II. B.De, pp. 257-58. Both Nizamuddin and Badaoni have the town Sambhar where Bharmal paid homage to the emperor. But according to Akbarnamah, the first meeting between Bharmal and Akbar took place at Sanganiir(which according to footnote is a town in Jaipur, 7 miles south west of the capital) and the marriage took place at Sambhar. The name of Bharmal is variantly written as Rajah Biharimal or Bharamal or Paharimal or Paharahmal but the

In the period from 1562 A.D. to 1570 A.D. one after the other Rajput ruler submitted to Akbar. By 1562-63 A.D. Rajah Bedichand of Nagarkol had joined the imperial service.¹ In 1563 A.D. Rajah Ram Chand, the ruler of Pannah also was included among the servants of the court.² In 1565-66 A.D. we find Rai Sal Darbari in the imperial service.³ In March, 1569 A.D. Rai Surjan Hara, the ruler of Ranthambhor entered the imperial service and rose to the rank of nobility.⁴ In 1569 A.D. Rajah Ram Chand of Kalinjar also submitted and surrendered the fort of Kalinjar to Majnun Khan Qaqshal, the imperial officer.⁵ By 1569 A.D. Jagmal Panwar, a Rajput who afterwards rose to the rank of nobility, had joined the Mughal service.⁶ In 1570 A.D. Chandrasen, the son of Rajah Maldeo of Marwar (Jodhpur) came personally to do homage to the emperor and was received with royal favours.⁷ At the same time (1570 A.D.) Rai Kalyan Mal, the ruler of Bikaner, came with his son Rai Rai Singh and

(contd..)

correct name is Rajah Bharmal; See the article 'Maharaja Bharmal and Bhagwant Das of Amber and their relations with the Mughal court by Satya Prakash, pp. 192-193, J.I.H.C. 13th Session, 1950.

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 254.

2 Ibid. pp. 282-83.

3 Ibid., p. 390.

4 Ibid., pp. 491, 494-95.

5 Ibid., pp. 498-99.

6 Ibid., p. 509.

7 Ibid., p. 518.

both entered the imperial service. Rai Kalyan Mal expressed his desire to give in marriage his brother Kahan's daughter to the emperor. His desire was fulfilled.¹ In 1570 A.D.

Rawal Har Rai, the ruler of Jaisalmir also gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar.²

Indian Muslims

There were various reasons for promoting Indian Muslims after 1562 A.D. Firstly, Indian Muslims were in the service of Akbar from the beginning of his reign and Akbar was very much impressed by their valour, courage and bravery. Secondly, in pursuance of his policy of Sulh-i-kul (Peace with all), Akbar wanted to make a compromise with every racial group and give each an equal opportunity to show their talents. Thirdly, he was influenced by the loyalty shown by the Indian Muslims.³ They were ready to risk their lives for the welfare of the state. No wonder Akbar decided to reward them fully for their loyal services. Fourthly, Akbar had seen that neither the Turanis, nor the Iranis were fully dependable. He wanted a faithful group of nobles who could understand him and work in the interests of the empire. He,

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 518.

2 Ibid., pp. 518-19.

3 Syed Mahmud Barha, an Indian Muslim, brought Munim Khan and Qasim Khan Mir Bahr to court when they had fled from court.

therefore, promoted Indian Muslims to create a loyal and faithful group of nobility. Lastly, Akbar promoted Indian Muslims to counter balance Rajputs, the two powerful groups of Hindustani amirs.

By 1562 A.D. Akbar had seen that 'the officers in their ignorance, fatuity or dishonesty attended to the enrichment of their own households and collected treasure for their own purposes, while neglecting to collect the Shahinshah's revenues. Still less they tried to increase those. His Majesty, the Shahinshah, either because he was wearing a veil or because he had no listner at hand said nothing about this... the household officers had to endure losses and hardships', remarks Abul Fazl¹. Therefore, Akbar began to encourage Rajputs and Indian Muslims. Though the Rajputs seems to have entered the Mughal service in 1562 A.D.; the Indian Muslims were already in Mughal service but they got encouragement and promotions from 1562 A.D. onwards. After the catastrophe of Adham Khan and Shamsuddin, Akbar understood the spirit of the age and the nature of mankind. He promoted Khwajah Phul Malik, an Indian Muslim who was eunuch and assigned to him the management of the Khalsa land or revenue land². He had been distinguished by the title of

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 276.

2 The land under the direct management of the central government was called crown land in contrast to jagir land which was administered by the jagirdars; A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 276-77.

It is a mistake to read call Khalsa land as crown land
See Mordant - Agrarian System of Mordant / with a p. 29

Mohammad Khan for his integrity during the rule of Salim Khan, the son of Sher Khan the Afghan. Before the affair of Adham Khan, he had joined the Mughal service and became known for his good services. Akbar consulted him and asked his opinions on the revenue matters. He was very much influenced by his abilities and conferred upon him the title of Itimad Khan and made him over all the royal revenue which were in the hands of the embezzlers. He by excellent management put the revenues on sound footing.¹

In the 8th Regnal Year 1563 A.D.-1564 A.D. Kamal Khan Gakkhar, an Indian Muslim received promotion and favour. He had joined the Mughal service in the beginning of the reign and had distinguished himself at the time of struggle between Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman and the son of Adli Afghan. He brought a considerable force and took part in the battle and fought gallantly. He also held at that time jagirs in paraganas, Hanswah and Fathpur and in the Sarkar of Lucknow.² Now in the year 1563-64 A.D. when his bravery was reported to Akbar, he decided to show him more favour and he became an object of increased confidence. In pursuance of his policy of promoting Indian Muslims, the emperor said, 'Kamal Khan has done his duty, now is the time for us to

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 277.

2 Ibid., p. 297.

show him favour. Whatever desire he may have shall be gratified.¹ Kamal Khan represented ~~through~~ through the emperor's intimates that his only desire was that with the royal help he might obtain possession of his native country (the country between the Indus and the Beas).² His request was accepted and orders were issued to Khan-i-Kalan . Mir Mohammad Khan, Mehdi Qasim Khan, Qutbuddin Mohammad Khan and other officers of Punjab to march against Sultan Adam, the uncle of Kamal Khan who had taken possession of his homeland. These officers went with Kamal Khan and a great battle took place in which Sultan Adam was made a prisoner and the country was handed over to Kamal Khan who was confirmed in his hereditary possessions.³

No doubt by 1562 A.D. Akbar had liquidated the overbearing influence of the harem and of the old nobility which consisted mainly of immigrants⁴ and had realised that he could not exclusively depend on those nobles of foreign extraction and in order to counteract their power and prestige, he created a new set of native nobles. But he did not entertain the idea of getting rid of the foreign nobles as he was quite conscious of their talents and at the same time to depend entirely on Hindustani nobles would be to fall from the frying pan into the fire. In these

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 298.

2 Ibid., pp. 296-98.

3 Ibid., pp. 299-300.

4 Turanis and Iranis.

circumstances, the most judicious way out was to retain and humour the older set of nobles with some curtailed powers and also enrol a new set of Hindustani nobles with on the whole lesser ranks and wider powers. Therefore, Akbar opened the gates of nobility to Rajputs and Indian Muslims but side by side with this, he received into his service foreigners, whether Persians or Turanis, with equally open arms. Soldiers and administrators, poets and painters immigrated to India attracted by the lustre of the Mughal court. In the very heterogeneity of his nobility, Akbar found a great safeguard for royal power in the balancing between Hindu and Muslim nobles, the Hindustanis, Iranis and Turanis, while at the same time this also enabled him to draw upon talents from as many quarters as possible.¹

Foreign Muslims

The Persian nobles seem to have improved their position in the period between 1562-A.D.-1567 A.D. mainly by earning promotions in the course of military operations during the revolts of sections of the nobility. Except the temporary desertion of Asaf Khan, Persian noble, in 1565-66 A.D., none of the revolts which took place in this period were staged by the Persians or by any other non

1 'Foundation of Akbar's Organisation of the nobility- An interpretation', an article by M. Athar Ali- pp. 290-299 Medieval India Quarterly, January and April, 1958.

Turani section of the nobles. Although the strength of the Persian nobles fall from 31.37 percent in 1555 A.D. to 27.27 percent in 1565 to 1575 A.D., this does not necessarily prove a decline in their position. This fall in percentage was more the result of the sharp rise in the total number of the nobles with the expansion of the empire. There was a corresponding fall in the absolute strength of the Turanis as well. What is more important is the fact that in the higher grades the Iranis had come to equal the Turanis and their percentage was also considerably higher 38.34 percent. This clearly suggests the rapid promotion of Persian nobles especially in the higher grades.¹

During the period between 1562-67 A.D. Akbar was called upon to face various rebellions of his nobles especially the Uzbegs and the Mirzas. There were six major rebellions between 1562 A.D. ^{and 15-} 67 A.D. namely:

- (a) Revolt by Mirza Sharfuddin Husain - 1562-63 A.D.²
- (b) Shah Abul Maali's revolt- 1564 A.D.³
- (c) Abdullah Khan Uzbeg's revolt- 1564 A.D.⁴
- (d) Ali Quli Khan Uzbeg's revolt- 1565-67 A.D.⁵

1 The nobility under Akbar and the development of his religious policy, 1560-80 by Iqtidar Alam Khan, pp. 30-31, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1968.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 303-305.

3 Ibid., pp. 308-321.

4 Ibid., pp. 341-350, 403.

5 Ibid., pp. 337-339, 375-381, 384-405, 425-440.

(e) Asaf Khan's desertion- 1565-66 A.D.¹

(f) The revolt of the Mirzas- 1566 A.D.²

None of them aspired ^{to} ~~for~~ the throne of Delhi and Agra but it would seem that they could not imagine why they too could not assume independence in a principality of their own, especially when they were in no way inferior in resources and effectiveness to the young Akbar.³

The Uzbek nobles in the service of Akbar formed a powerful group comprising-⁴ Ali Quli Khan Uzbek, his brother Bahadur Khan Uzbek, Abdullah Khan Uzbek, Ibrahim Khan Uzbek and Iskandar Khan Uzbek. This clan of Uzbek nobles when united could pose a grave danger to the emperor. The Uzbeks had served loyally and fought courageously for the welfare of the state during the regency of Bairam Khan. But it seems that the Uzbek nobles were not rewarded by him according to their services.⁴ Even when Bahadur Khan Uzbek was appointed wakil of the empire, the real authority was in the hands of Maham Angah.⁵ In 1561 A.D. Ali Quli Khan Uzbek

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 332-33, 382-83, 404-5.

2 Ibid., pp. 413-415.

3 Incidents of rebellions during the reign of Emperor Akbar, by Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, pp. 152-154, Medieval India- a miscellany, vol.II, 1972.

4 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 70, 87, 94, 120, 126-127.

5 Ibid., pp. 150-151.

fought bravely against the Afghans in the east and obtained glorious victories but no promotion or reward was given to him. Probably this led him to keep to himself the spoils of the victory.¹ In 1562 A.D. Abdullah Khan Uzbek was appointed to conquer Malwa and made its governor.² He revolted in 1564 A.D. and Akbar had to go to Malwa personally to punish him. Abdullah Khan left the Mughal territory and fled to Gujarat.³

It appears that Akbar had a disliking for the Uzbek officers because of their wavering nature. On the other side the Uzbek officers being good generals and brave and competent soldiers, were overambitious and entertained a desire to rule independently. The great Uzbek rebellion of 1565-67 A.D. was in reality the rebellion of the whole clan of the Uzbek nobles though Ali Quli Khan Uzbek and Bahadur Khan Uzbek were the leading figures. All the Uzbek nobles combined together and gave a great threat to the emperor by proclaiming his younger brother Mirza Hakim who was in Kabul as their sovereign and reading Khutba in Mirza Hakim's name.⁴

1 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 215-217.

2 Ibid., pp. 259-261.

3 Ibid., pp. 341-351.

4 Ibid., pp. 420, 375, 385, 387, 395-98.

About the same time (1566 A.D.), the Mirzas who were closely related with the Timurid dynasty also revolted. The sons of Mohammad Sultan Mirza and Ulugh Mirza who were in the imperial service and held a jagir in the Sarkar of Sambhal, rose in rebellion and plundered the villages in the neighbourhood of Delhi when Akbar had gone towards Kabul to suppress the ~~s~~^edition of his younger brother Mirza Hakim. Munim Khan, the Khan-i-Khanan who had been left in charge of Agra went to suppress them and they fled towards Malwa.¹

Had the Mirzas and the Uzbegs combined together, it would certainly have been an uphill task for Akbar to suppress them. But as the stars were shining in favour of the emperor, they could not join due to their own selfish ends. Abul Fazl says that when the Mirzas fled to Ali Quli Khan Uzbek and Sikandar Khan Uzbek, the latter refused to accept their company, 'for everyone in his folly wanted to rule.'²

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 413-415.

2 Ibid., p. 414; Similarly when Shah Abul Maali fled from Gujarat in 1559-60 A.D. he went to the eastern provinces to join Ali Quli and stir up a commotion with his help. But 'as that disloyalist was himself meditating on Sway and sovereignty', he did not give any room to him and sent him to Bairam Khan.
A.N.II. Tr. p. 155.

By 1567 A.D. Akbar succeeded in suppressing the revolts of the Uzbegs and the Mirzas. With the deaths of Ali Quli Khan and Bahadur Khan Uzbek in 1567 A.D. the backbone of the Turani nobility was broken.¹ The long struggle between the emperor and the turbulent nobility which started in 1560 A.D. when Bairam Khan was dismissed and continued for full seven years, came to a close with the collapse of the Uzbek rebellion. The emperor was called upon to vindicate his power and prestige. By his diplomatic skill, patience and undaunted courage, he triumphed over all the forces of opposition.² It is worthy to note the attitudes of the Turanis and Khurasanis or Iranis during the period between 1562-67 A.D. Abul Fazl has noted that a large section of the Turani nobles participating in the operations against Mirza Sharfuddin Husain and Shah Abul Maali in 1562-64 A.D. were quite lukewarm, while Irani (Persian) officers like Husain Quli Khan, Ismail Quli Khan and others who were directing the operations as well as other Persians serving under them, were steadfast and unsparing in their support of the royal cause.³ About the same time, some Badakhshis and all the

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 426-437.

2 Rise and Fall of the Mughal empire, by R.P. Tripathi, p.200.

3 A.N. II, p.200 (Pr. Text), Cf. The Nobility under Akbar and the development of his religious policy by Iqtiḍār Alam Khan, p.31. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1968.

men of Transoxiana (Turanis) became disloyal and resolved upon munit. Ahmad Beg and Iskandar Beg who were the relatives of Husain Quli Khan (Irani noble) fought bravely and killed many of the rebels. At last both of them sacrificed their lives for the imperial cause.¹ In 1565 A.D. at the time of Asaf Khan's (Iran noble) selection as the commander of the royal army sent against Quli Khan Uzbek, there arose a controversy which had racial overtones. In the heat of arguments Khwajah Jahan, Aminuddin of Herat (Irani noble) is said to have remarked 'even a single hair of Asaf Khan is more useful than the whole of the Chaghtai Clan (Turani).'² Further during the period 1565-67 A.D. the Irani nobles cooperated with the emperor and gave him their whole-hearted support. In the operations against the Uzbek nobles (Turanis), while Munim Khan, the Khan-i-Khanan who was the senior most Chaghtai noble (Turani) of the realm, had sympathies with the Uzbek rebels and endeavoured hard to secure a peaceful settlement and bring about a reconciliation between them and the emperor; a group of senior Irani nobles such as Khwajah -i-Jahan Aminuddin Mahmud of Herat, Asaf Khan, Mir Muizzulmulk and Mir Ghiyasuddin appeared to be quite apathetic if not

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 309-311; T.A. II. B.De. pp. 274-75; M.T. II. Lowe, pp. 56-58.

2 Bayazid, p.287 (edited by M. Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1941).

actually hostile towards the efforts aimed at reconciliation. In 1565 A.D. we find Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman (Uzbeg) requesting Munim Khan to intercede on his behalf to the emperor. Munim Khan agreed and strongly recommended his case for forgiveness to the emperor. The emperor sent Khwajah Ghiyasuddin Ali of Qazwin (Irani) to Ali Quli to inform him of his graciousness and to report what was decided between Ali Quli and Munim Khan. It was agreed between Munim Khan and Ali Quli that Mirza Ghiyasuddin should go to court and request the emperor that he should send Khwajah-i-Jahan (Irani noble) by whose counsels the affairs of the state were managed at that time in order that Ali Quli Khan's mind might be set at rest.¹

It is suggestive that Khwajah Jahan who was an Irani noble was all powerful during this period and it reflects Akbar's policy of encouraging the Irani nobles during this period to reduce the overgrown influence of the Turani nobles. Akbar sent Khwajah-i-Jahan agreeably to Munim Khan's request. There we find Khwajah-i-Jahan hesitating to visit Ali Quli's quarters with Munim Khan because he was not sure

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 385-387; Abul Fazl says that Munim Khan, in simplicity and on account of his being an old servant, withheld his hand from extirpating the disobedient. Nizamuddin says that Munim Khan, the Khan-i-Khanan was given the command of the royal army, in place of Asaf Khan to oppose Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman. As the relations between the two Munim Khan and Ali Quli were cordial and friendly, they started negotiations.
T.A. II. B.De. p. 304.

of Ali Quli's loyalty and he frankly said to Munim Khan that 'Ali Quli was a man without moderation and was displeased with him. He did not think it advisable to go to his quarters. If Munim Khan was bent upon their going, he should take pledges for their security.¹ Munim Khan asked for Ibrahim Khan Uzbek as a pledge from Ali Quli and obtained him. Next day Munim Khan and Khwajah-i-Jahan had a meeting with Ali Quli in his quarters.² A reconciliation was brought about for the time being.

On the other hand we find that when Bahadur Khan Uzbek and Iskandar Khan Uzbek learnt that an imperial army had been sent against them under the leadership of Mir Muizzulmulk (an Irani noble), they sent men to him representing that they did not intend to fight and that he should intervene and should obtain pardon for their offences from the emperor. But Mir Muizzulmulk did not agree and sent a reply that it was not possible that their offences should be purified except by the sword. All further efforts by Bahadur Khan for peaceful settlement ended in vain because Mir Muizzulmulk was bent upon war. Even when Rajah Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan were sent from the court with instructions that if Bahadur Khan and Iskandar Khan

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 387; T.A. II. B.De. pp. 303-5.

2 Ibid.

wanted to surrender they should bring them to court with assurances of safety, otherwise they were to join Mir Muizzulmulk in crushing them; Mir Muizzulmulk paid no heed, as he was extremely keen about the war, and suffered a defeat (1565-66 A.D.).¹

Ali Quli, Khan-i-Zaman soon afterwards broke the terms of the treaty and crossed the river (which they were not to cross according to the treaty) and came to Muhammadabad and sent men to Ghazipur and Jaunpur. When Akbar learnt about this he spoke angrily to the Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan who had interceded for his good behaviour and Munim Khan did not open his mouth in reply and hung down his head in shame. Akbar left Khwajah-i-Jahan, Muzaffar Khan, Rajah Bhagwant Das and others with the camp and himself set out to punish Ali Quli on 2nd February, 1566 A.D. Jafar Khan Taklu and Qasim Khan were sent against Ghazipur.² Abul Fazl says that it has been stated by trustworthy authorities that had the efforts ^{been} ~~from~~ made to arrest Ali Quli in Muhammadabad on the night he arrived, he would have been caught. Apparently, Munim Khan played tricks, as he did not, for his own purposes, wish that Ali Quli should be caught. In the first place, he did not permit a march against

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 389-391; T.A. II. B.De. pp. 305-308.

2 A.N. II Eng. Tr. pp. 394-95; T.A. II. B.De, pp. 310-11.

him that night, and secondly, he sent him warning. The emperor wisely winked at Munim Khan's conduct and took no notice of it.¹

Soon afterwards Akbar came to Jaunpur and determined to make that place his capital until the Uzbek rebellion was suppressed. An order was sent to all the officers who had gone on leave to come and enrol themselves in the royal forces. When Ali Quli heard this he sent Mirza Mirak Razawi, his ~~confidential~~ servant, with his mother (Ali Quli's mother) to the Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan to represent his pain and grief and request him to be once more his intercessor. Munim Khan received his message but as he knew the emperor's disposition, he had not the courage for this. He, however, brought forward, Mir Murtaza Sharifi, Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri and Shaikh Abdun-Nabi, the Sadr who became intercessors. Akbar, out of favour for intercessors, once more pardoned their offences on condition that they should always remain constant in the path of loyalty. On 3rd March, 1566 A.D. Akbar started for Agra, leaving Munim Khan and Muzaffar Khan for the settlement of the affairs of Ali Quli.²

Mir Murtaza Sharifi, Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri and Mun Khan Farankhudi had been sent as envoys to Ali Quli to give him the good news of pardon.³ After the return of the

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 396; T.A. II. B.De, pp. 311-12.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 397-99; T.A. II. B.De, pp. 313-14. Both Nizamuddin and Badaoni have Mir Abdul Latif instead of Mir Murtaza.

3 A.N. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 398-99.

envoys, Munim Khan and Muzaffar Khan proceeded towards the capital (Agra). When they came to Itawah, Muzaffar Khan (Turani noble) became suspicious of Munim Khan (Turani noble) and he ~~he~~stily came to the court and represented the double-dealing of the officers. Afterwards Munim Khan and other officers came to court. Lashkar Khan was removed from the office of Bakhshi; Khwajah-i-Jahan was reprimanded and the great seal was taken from him and he was dismissed to Mekkah. Munim Khan was overcome with great anxiety, seeing the severity of the emperor used towards those men. The reputation of Muzaffar Khan increased. At the intercession of the courtiers, the offences of Khwajah-i-Jahan were forgiven.¹

When Akbar went to suppress the rebellion of his younger brother Mirza Hakim, Ali Quli went from Jaunpur to the town of Sarharpur which was the jagir of Ibrahim Khan, and Iskandar Khan came out of the city of Awadh to join the rebels. They all agreed that Ali Quli Khan should with his forces proceed by the way of Lucknow and take possession of the whole country to the bank of the Ganges; that Bahadur Khan should proceed to Karra-Manikpur against Asaf Khan and Majnum Khan and that Ibrahim Khan and Iskandar Khan should take possession of the Sarkar of Awadh and its neighbourhood.

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 401-2.

After making this agreement, they separated.¹

When Akbar came back to Agra, he appointed Munim Khan to the charge of Agra and himself proceeded for the suppression of the Uzbek rebellion on 6th May, 1567 A.D.² This time Akbar succeeded. Here we find that Akbar was working on his own initiative and was not a puppet in the hands of his nobles. He had no reliance upon the words of the Uzbek nobles but he, out of favour and consideration for the old and great amirs, usually forgave their offences. But when he saw that their insolence had increased greatly he decided to crush their power. He left Munim Khan at Agra because his sympathies with the Uzbek nobles had earlier foiled his plans. Though he had great regard for Munim Khan, he could not tolerate him as an obstacle in the fulfillment of his plans. When his interests clashed, he put aside Munim Khan and did his own. Akbar was interested in crushing the power of the Uzbeks, for they formed a powerful section of the Turani Nobility, considered themselves as rivals of the Timurids in India and their loyalty to the throne was shaky. At the same time Munim Khan could not see the destruction of the Uzbek nobility for political reasons. After the victory over the Uzbeks, Akbar gave Munim Khan all the jagirs of Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan and thereby

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 425.

2 Ibid., pp. 426-27.

shattered his fears. After the deaths of Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan, the Turani nobility seized to be a determining force.

In the 13th Regnal Year, 1568 A.D., the power of the Turani nobility was further curtailed when the Atgah clan was removed from the Punjab. The Atgah Khail had been for a long time in the Punjab and been administering that province. Taking a lesson from the experience of the Uzbek rebellion, Akbar thought it prudent to remove the loyal members of the Atgah Khail from Punjab and disperse them.¹ Abul Fazl says that 'whenever a large body is gathered together of one mind and speech, and show much push and energy, it is proper to disperse them, firstly, for their own good and secondly, for the welfare of the community, even if no improper act in consequence of the aggregation be seen or suspected.'² The government of Punjab was now entrusted to Husain Quli Khan, Khan-i-Jahan, an Irani noble. Soon afterwards he was sent along with his brother Ismail Quli Khan to administer the Punjab. Mir Mohammad Khan was given the jagir of Sarkar of Sambhal; Qutbuddin Mohammad Khan was given the sarkar of Malwa and Sharif Khan was given

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 486-87; T.A. II. B.D., pp. 351-52.

2 Ibid., p. 487.

Sarkar of Qannauj. Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam's jagir was left in Punjab as he was continually in attendance on the emperor.¹

By 1575 A.D. Akbar succeeded in making proper balance between the Turani and the Irani group of nobility. A close perusal of the attitude of the emperor during the period 1562-75 A.D. reveals that the rise of the Persian nobles was not accidental but a definite step taken by the emperor to keep the nobles under control. He succeeded in reducing the power of the Turani nobility and side by side by favouring the Irani nobility, the emperor safeguarded his own position. The following table clearly indicates the rise in the fortunes of Irani nobles:

Period- 1565-75 A.D.

Mansab	Turanis	Iranis	Indian Muslims	Rajputs & other Hindus	Unspecified	Total
000 -5000	15	15	2	4	-	34
000 -2500	14	17	5	3	4	43
000-9 900	9	5	2	1	-	17
Total	38	37	9	8	4	96
	(39.58%)	(38.54%)	(9.37%)	(8.33%)	(4.16%)	
Mansab not known	29	11	16	10	14	80
Grand Total	67	48	25	18	18	176

1 The figure for the total number of nobles for the period 1565-75 is arrived at by putting together the names contained in Abul Fazl's lists for various campaigns and expeditions of these years. The Nobility under Akbar and the development of his religious policy, 1560-80, by Iqbal Alam Khan. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1968, pp. 29-36.

Fourth Phase- 1575 A.D.-1605 A.D.

In the period between 1573 A.D. ^{and} ~~to~~ 1575 A.D. Akbar contemplated to organise the nobility on a sound basis. In 1573 A.D. he raised Muzaffar Khan to the high position of ^{gave him the title of Jumlatulmulk,} wakil/and the later discharged the political and financial duties with ability.¹ But gradually his arrogance increased and when Akbar consulted him on the question of branding (marking the horse or dagh system) the former made foolish remarks. Akbar was very much grieved at this. He promulgated the branding regulation, the regulation for the conversion of the imperial territories into ^{reserve (ichlas)} crown lands and the fixing the grades of the officers of the state. But all these measures could be carried out with the cooperation, loyalty, disinterestedness, steadiness and energy of the officers. Muzaffar Khan showed reluctance to carry out the regulations due to lack of understanding and self conceit and he fell out of favour. Therefore, these regulations remained on paper for sometime. The emperor found no assistant or helper who could do the job. But he often discussed about these measures with his intimate friends. Rajah Todar Mal, a noble of high rank, used to say that the emperor had entertained good ideas but most probably Munim Khan and Muzaffar

1 A.N. Vol. III, Eng. Tr. pp. 93-94; M.T. II. Lowe, p. 174; T.A. II. B.De. p. 424.

Khan would not approve of the plans.¹

Finally, it was in 1575 A.D. that Akbar organised the nobility on the basis of mansabdari system. An inquiry was made and the grades of the imperial officers were settled. The system of branding was also introduced. The imperial territories were made ^{revenue (Khalise)} crown lands. The officers and other servants received salaries in cash and their ranks were determined in accordance with their merit and the extent of their commands.² At this time the chief officers who carried out these measures were Shahbaz Khan, Khwajah Ghiasuddin Ali Asaf Khan, Rai Purshotam and Rai Ram Das.³ Badaoni says that at the instigation of Shahbaz, Khan Kambu the custom of branding the government horses came into practice and with one stroke of pen he commanded the appointment of taxgatherers through out the whole empire and that lands should be held directly from the crown.⁴ Shahbaz Khan Kambu, an Indian Muslim noble seems to be on the whole responsible for introducing the branding regulation.

Thus by organising the nobility on the basis of mansabdari system, Akbar tried to utilise the services of various racial groups and keep a balance between the

1 A.N.III. Eng. Tr. p.95.

2 Ibid., pp. 165-66; T.A. II. H.De, p. 456.

3 Ibid., p. 167.

4 M.T. II. Lowe, pp. 176; 192-194.

different racial groups of the nobility. Persons received mansabs or got promotions according to their loyalty, ability, merits, experience and length of service. It is evident from the tables given below that Akbar succeeded in maintaining proper balance between the Turanis and the Iranis on one hand; and the Indian Muslims and the Rajputs on the other hand in the period between 1575 A.D. ^{and} ~~to~~ 1605 A.D. (the end of his reign). In the period between 1575-95 A.D. out of 87 nobles of the rank of 1000 and above, 32 were Turanis, 24 were Iranis; 14 were Indian Muslims, 13 were Rajputs; 1 non Rajput Hindu; 3 were those whose nationality is not known. In the same period (1575-95 A.D.) out of 184 nobles of the rank of 500 and above; 64 were Turanis, 47 Iranis, 34 Indian Muslim; 30 Rajputs and other Hindus; 9 unidentified. During the reign of Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) out of 344 persons who rose to the rank of nobility, 93 were Turanis, 90 were Iranis, Indian Muslims and Afghansⁿ combined were 48 (38+10) and Rajputs and other Hindus combined were 50 (42+8) and 63 were those whose nationality is difficult to determine. The position of the Hindustani amirs- Indian Muslims + Rajputs_{and other Hindus} was equivalent to the foreign nobles- Turanis were 93; Iranis were 90 and Hindustanis were 98.¹

1 For details see Appendix 'A' and Appendix 'C' given in the end of this Chapter.

Period- 1575 A.D. to 1595 A.D.

Mansab	Total number	Turanis	Iranis Muslims	Indian Muslims	Rajputs	Other Hindus	Un- Identified
1000 and above	87	32 (36.78%)	24 (27.58%)	14 (16.09%)	13 (16.09%)	1	3 (3.44%)
500 and above	184	64 (34.78%)	47 (25.54%)	34 (18.48%)	27 (16.30%)	3	9 (4.99%)

Period- 1556 A.D.-1605 A.D.

500 and above	344	93	90	48 (38 INDIAN MUSLIMS 10 AFGHANS)	42	8	63
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During the rebellion of Mirza Hakim, Akbar's younger brother, in 1581 A.D. the attitude of Mirza Hakim and his supporters throws light on the loyalties of different racial groups serving under the emperor. They hoped that 'the Turanis and Persians who are in the imperial army will join us without fighting, and the brave Rajputs and gallant Afghans will end their days. The other natives of India will be made prisoners.'¹ Abul Fazl remarks that though those follish one spoke such incorrect things, the Mirza and his men were not ignorant of the fidelity of the

1 A.N.III. Eng. Tr. pp. 537-38.

Turanis and Persians, which was known to the whole world, nor were the great deeds of the Rajputs and the Shaikhzadas of India unknown to them.¹ It is clear that the Mirza's flatterers hoped that the Turanis and Iranis could be won over by bribes in the shape of gifts and presents, the Afghans and the Rajputs would die fighting but would not accept bribe; whereas the other Indians such as the Shaikhzadas will neither accept bribes like the Iranis and Turanis, nor die in the battle field bravely but in stead will first fight bravely and in the end when they ^{see that their stand is weak, they will} will surrender and then will be made prisoners. This idle talk, though cannot be accepted in full, yet it throws light on the fact that the Hindustani amirs were considered to be more loyal to the throne than their foreign counterparts.

In short we can say that Akbar organised his nobility in two different ways. Firstly, military and ^{hierarchical} in which the nobles might be called mansabdars or rank-holders. Secondly, fiscal in which the nobles were known as jagirdars or fief-holders. While the former basis was made in 1575 A.D., the later basis was adopted from the beginning of the reign. The jagirdars could be placed in several categories:

- 1) those who had jagirs with high titles such as Khan-i-Khanan, Khan-i-Azam, Khan-i-Jahan, Amirul-Umarah, Khwajah-i-Jahan, Khan-i-Alam along with other distinctions

1 A.N.III. Eng. Tr. pp. 537-38.

such as standard, kettle-drum and robe of honour of high dignity.

- 2) those who had jagirs with the title having the suffix Khan such as Asaf Khan, Ashraf Khan, Mirza Khan, Lashkar Khan, Shahbaz Khan etc. but no other distinctions.
- 3) those who ^{had} jagirs with the title of Khan or the rank of Khanship alone.
- 4) those who had jagirs but no title.

Prior to 1575 A.D., Akbar organised the nobility on the above basis and after 1575 A.D. though the nobles were organised on the basis of mansabdari system, this system of gradation continued till the end of his reign. The details of these two systems are given in the next Chapters.¹

1 Also see the article 'Foundation of Akbar's organisation of the nobility- an interpretation by M. Athar Ali, pp. 290-99 (Medieval India Quarterly) January and April, 1958.

Appendix 'A'Period - 1575 A.D. - 1595 A.D.

Mansab	Turanis	Persians	Indian Muslims	Rajputs	Other Hindus	Un- speci- fied	Total number
5,000	7	6	-	2	-	-	15
4,500	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
4,000	2	2	-	2	-	-	6
3,500	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
3,000	8	3	-	-	-	-	11
2,500	2	-	2	1	-	-	5
2,000	4	3	5	3	1	1	17
1,500	2	-	3	2	-	-	7
1,250	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
1,000	7	6	4	2	-	2	21
900	13	9	8	3	-	1	34
800	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
700	12	3	3	2	1	1	22
600	1	3	-	-	-	-	4
500	5	8	8	9	1	4	35
Total	64	47	34	27	3	9	184
	(34.78%)	(25.54%)	(18.48%)	27+3 =30 (16.30%)		(4. 89 %)	

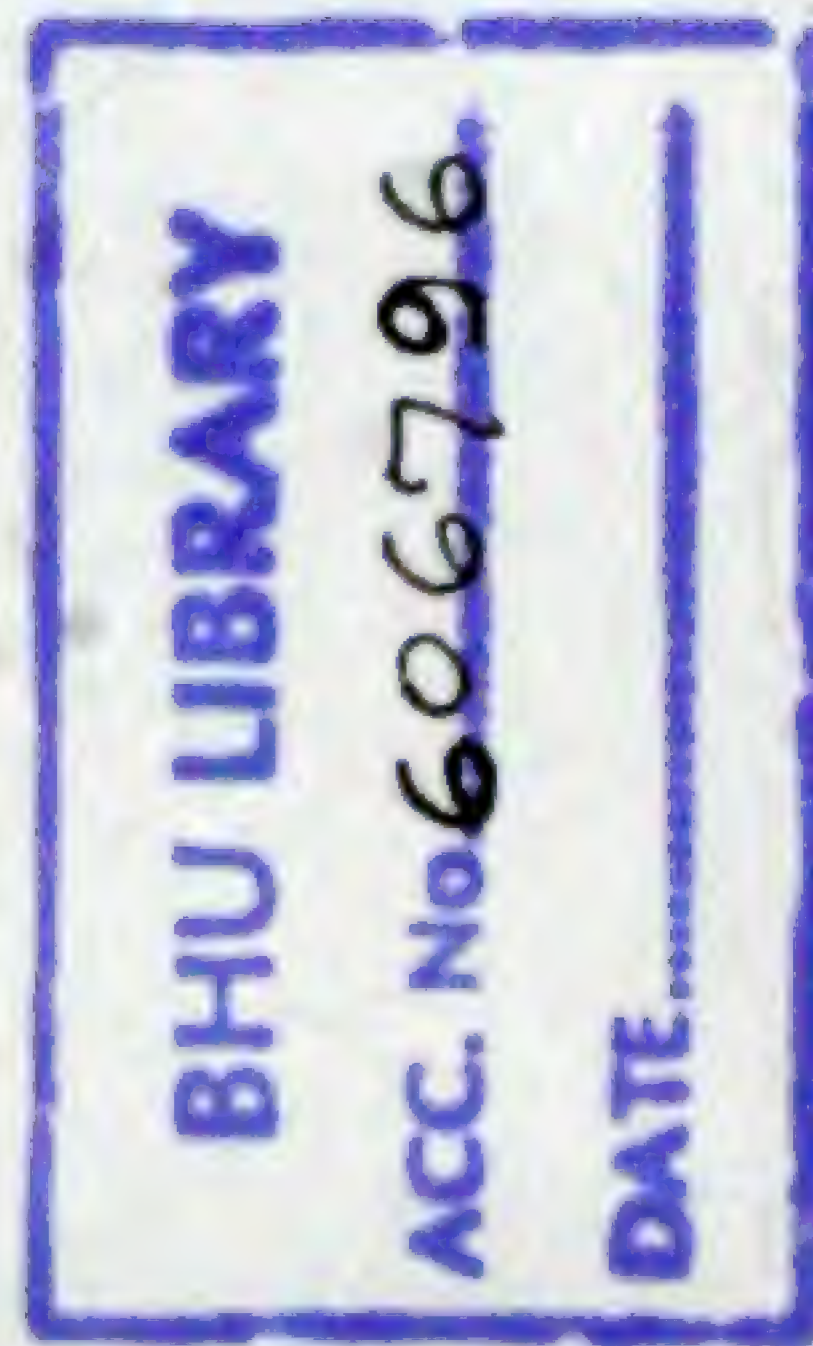
This list is based on the list of the Ain. Cf. 'The Nobility under Akbar and the development of his religious policy, 1560-80, by Iqtiḍār Alam Khan, pp. 35-36, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1968.

Appendix 'B'

Period- 1556 A.D.- 1595 A.D

Mansab	Turanis	Iranis	Indian		Afghans	Other		Total Muslims	Rajputs	Other Hindus	Total Hindus	Grand Total
			Muslims			Muslims						
5000	18	8	-	-	-	1	27	3	-	3	30	
3000-5000	6	15	2	-	-	5	28	1	1	2	30	
1000-3000	21	14	10	3	15	63	10	1	11	74		
500-1000	33	27	15	3	21	99	12	4	16	115		
Total	77	64	27	6	42	216	26	6	32	249		

This list is prepared on the basis of the lists of nobles given in the Ain and the Tabaqat.



Appendix 'C'

Period- 1556 A.D.-1605 A.D.

Hansab	Turanis	Iranis	Indian Muslims	Afghans	Other Muslims	Total Muslims	Rajputs	Other Hindus	Total Hindus	Grand Total
7000	2	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	3
5000	16	10	4	-	1	31	4	1	5	36
4500	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
4000	4	7	1	-	1	13	3	1	4	17
3500	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
3000	10	11	-	-	4	25	2	1	3	28
2500	2	2	-	-	2	6	1	-	1	7
2000	11	9	8	3	2	33	8	1	9	42
1500	3	4	2	1	6	16	1	-	1	17
1000	13	12	5	2	16	47	8	1	9	57
900	8	10	5	-	5	28	1	-	1	29
800	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
700	9	7	1	1	7	25	4	1	5	30
600	-	2	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	3
500	9	14	7	2	14	46	7	2	9	55
Not known	4	1	2	1	5	13	1	-	1	14
Total	93	90	38	10	63	294	42	8	50	344

This chart (Appendix 'C') is prepared on the basis of the list of the nobles given in the end of this work.

CHAPTER II

NUMERICAL STRENGTH AND COMPOSITION OF THE

NOBILITY

NUMBER OF THE MANSABDARS

The Mughal nobility was organised within the framework of the mansabdari system. Though every noble was a mansabdar, it was not essential that every mansabdar should be a noble. From the persons holding the mansab of Ten to the persons holding the mansab of Seven Thousand and the princes of the royal blood holding mansabs were all called mansabdars. In Akbar's time only the persons holding the mansab of Five Hundred or above were entitled to be called nobles or amirs.¹ Since the mansabdars formed the ruling class, it is necessary to examine the size of this group. The total number of mansabdars used to change very frequently because the new mansabs were granted every now and then. With the death or retirement of the old mansabdars it becomes all the more difficult to know the total number of mansabdars. Abul Fazl remarks, 'Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and jealous men are not appointed to mansabs or promoted to higher dignities. Many Arabians and Persians also

1 Nizamuddin Ahmad says the rank of an amir (Amarat wa Umrai) was not given to everyone who was in the imperial service and had five hundred retainers.

T.A.II, p.684 (B.De.) Blochmann, quoting Nizamuddin, says that Nizamuddin has given the following note to his own list"-Let it be known that the title of Amir is given to all such as hold Mansabs from 500 upwards. None of those whom I have enumerated holds a less rank". Ain.I, Bloch, p.604; Abdul Aziz also agrees that in Akbar's time the amirs began at 500.

See -The Mansabdari System by Abdul Aziz, pp. 144-146.

come from distant countries, and are honoured with commissions in the army, whereby they obtain the object of their desires. A large number again, both of old and young servants & receive their discharge, and are rewarded by His Majesty with daily allowances or grants of land, that render them independent.¹

There is only one contemporary source which gives details about the total number of mansabdars. This is Ain-i-Akbari which is a part of Akbarnamah written by Shaikh Abul Fazl. In this book the author gives a list of mansabdars who received mansabs till the 4th Regnal Year, i.e. 1595-96 A.D. of Akbar's reign.² A study of the following table will help us to have an idea about the total number of mansabdars in that particular year 1595-96 A.D.³

Thus the total number of mansabdars in the 40th Regnal Year (1595-96 A.D.) was approximately 1800. Since Abul Fazl has included all those persons- dead or alive- whose mansab was of Five Hundred or above in the 40th Regnal Year of Akbar's reign, this figure certainly does not indicate the total number of mansabdars in the 40th year of the reign

1 Ain.I, Bloch, p. 595.

2 The list does not mention the names of the persons whose mansab was below Two Hundred. Only their number is given.

3 Ain. I, Block, pp. 249, 323-595.

Mansabdars (excluding the sons of Akbar) holding mansabs of	(40 years of Akbar's reign) Number of Mansabdars
5,000	30
3,000 to 5,000	30
1,000 to 3,000	74
500 to 1,000	115
200 to 500	163
150	53
120	1
100	250
80	91
60	204
50	16
40	260
30	39
20	250
10	224
Total	1800

of Akbar. Blochmann says that out of 412 mansabdars holding mansabs from 200 to 5000, 150 mansabdars may have been¹ dead when Abul Fazl made his list.

Our information on the grant of mansabs in the last decade, i.e. from the 40th to 50th year of Akbar's reign (1595-1605 A.D.) is very scanty. There are stray references about the grant of mansabs here and there in the contemporary and nearly contemporary works. No detailed list of mansabdars of the aforesaid period is available. Our information about the low mansabdars is almost negligible. Therefore, it is very difficult to know the total of number of mansabdars of this period. Mansabs were no doubt granted in this period also. Nearly twenty-six persons got new mansabs in the last decade of Akbar's reign about whom information is available.² Thus the total number of

1 Ain. Bloch, p. 249. M. Athar Ali says that the list of the Ain includes all mansabdars of Akbar's time i.e., all those who had received a mansab of 200 or above uptil the 40th Regnal Year when the Ain was written. See, 'The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb', p.8. But this statement appears to be wrong. The list of the Ain describes all those who had received a mansab of 500 or above uptill the 40th Regnal Year. From the mansabdars of 200 to 500 the list mentions only those who were alive in that year, i.e. in the 40th year. It means Abul Fazl has not included in his list those mansabdars whose mansab was below Five Hundred and who were dead in the 40th Regnal Year, See Ain I, Bloch, p. 594.

2 (1) In the 45th R.Y. Mirza Ghazi received the mansab of 5000 Zat 0 Sawar, A.N. III, 1172; Tuzuk I, 71.

mansabdars of Akbar's reign was 1826. But the actual number of mansabdars must be much higher because this figure only

(contd...)

- (2) In the 50th R.Y. Yusuf, son of Husain Khan Tukriya received the mansab of 2000 Zat 300 Sawar. A.N.III, 1256; Iqbal II, 509.
- (3) Sardar Khan, nephew (sister's son) of Shaikh Abul Fazl got the mansab of 1000 in the 45th R.Y. A.N.III, 1153; Iqbal II, 468. Iqbalnamah calls him Safdar Khan.
- (4) Sadiq Khan got the mansab of 1,500 in the 49th R.Y. A.N. III, 1249; Iqbal II, 505.
- (5) Rajah Shiyam Singh Tatur got the mansab of 1000 in the 49th R.Y. A.N. III, 1247; Iqbal II, 504.
- (6) Abdi Khwajah got the mansab of 1000 Zat 500 Sawar in the 49th R.Y. A.N. III, 1249; Iqbal II, 506.
- (7) Khwajah Abdullah Safdar Khan received the mansab of 1000 in the 48th R.Y. A.N.III, 1235; Iqbal II, 497.
- (8) Bhao Singh, son of Rajah Man Singh, received the mansab of 1000 Zat 500 Sawar in the 50th R.Y. A.N.III, 1253; Iqbal II, 508.
- (9) Kalyan Das, son of Rajah Todar Mal got a mansab of 1000 Zat 500 Sawar in the 49th R.Y., A.N.III, 1249; Iqbal II, 505.
- (10) Rai Mukund, uncle of Rajah Bikramajit Bhadauriya got the mansab of 700 in the 49th R.Y., A.N.III, 1249; Iqbal II, 506.
- (11) Rajah Bikramjit Bhadauriya got the mansab of 700 in the 49th R.Y. A.N. III, 1249; Iqbal II, 506.
- (12) Abul Baqi Uzbek got the mansab of 500 Zat 150 Sawar in the 48th R.Y., A.N.III, 1231.
- (13) Abul Bain Albi got the mansab of 500 zat 150 sawar in the 48th R.Y.; Iqbal II, 494.
- (14) Islam Quli Khan, brother of Shah Quli Khan Mahram got the mansab of 500 Zat 150 Sawar in the 47th R.Y., A.N. III, 1209; Iqbal II, 481.
- (15) Kishak Bahadur got the mansab of 500 Zat 50 Sawar in the 50th R.Y., A.N. III, 1252.
- (16) Gang Bahadur got the mansab of 500 Zat 50 Sawar in the 50th R.Y., Iqbal II, 508.
- (17) Qazi Izzatullah got the mansab of 700 in the 49th R.Y., Iqbal II, 505; A.N. III, 1249.

(contd..)

includes those about whom information is available. Our information about the mansabdars holding mansab below 500 of both periods-upto the 40th Regnal Year and afterwards-is very little. Therefore, this figure must be accepted in the light of these limitations.

De Last, a foreign traveller who came to India in the reign of the emperor Jahangir, in his account gives a list of mansabdars at the death of Akbar which is very useful

(contd..)

- (18) Sharif Khan Kabuli got the mansab of 1000 Zat 500 Sawar in the 50th R.Y., A.N.III, 1256.
- (19) Mir Sharif Makhdum got the mansab of 700 in the 49th R.Y., Iqbal II, 506.
- (20) Mir Abdur Razzag received the mansab of 600 in the 50th R.Y., Iqbal II, 508.
- (21) Maha Singh, grandson of Rajah Man Singh received the mansab of 2000 Zat 300 Sawar in the 50th R.Y., A.N.III, 1257; Iqbal II, 510.
- (22) Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri got a mansab of 400 Zat 50 Sawar in the 50th R.Y., A.N.III, 1253; Iqbal II, 508.
- (23) Mir Abdullah got a mansab of 300 in the 50th R.Y. A.N. III, 1252.
- (24) Mirza Inayatullah got the mansab of 300 in the 49th R.Y., Iqbal II, 500.
- (25) Mirza Hasan got the mansab of 300 in the 49th R.Y., Iqbal II, 500.
- (26) Shaikh Abdul Wahab, son of Shaikh Mohammad Bukhari got the mansab of 500 in the 43rd R.Y. A.N.III, 1118; Iqbal II, 459.

to have an idea of total number of mansabdars at the end of Akbar's reign.¹ This list is quite reliable so far the number of mansabdar~~s~~ is concerned and its authenticity has been tested by the learned historian Abdul Aziz.² Though it is not a contemporary work, in the absence of contemporary description of low mansabs, there is no other alternative than to depend upon De Laet's information and form a rough estimate of the total number of mansabdars. The total number of mansabdars in the last year of Akbar's reign as given by De Laet is 2,941.³ It should be remembered that whereas the list of Abul Fazl which gives total number of mansabdars as 1800 in the 40th Regnal Year includes above 500 the dead mansabdars also, the list of De Laet which gives the number of mansabdars as ²⁹⁴¹2,941, includes only those who were alive at the time of the death of Akbar and not all those mansabdars who received mansabs in Akbar's reign. Those who were dead have not been included by De Laet is clear from the fact that Abul Fazl gives the number of mansab-
dars of 5,000 as 30 and De Laet only 8.⁴

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- 1 'The Empire of the Great Mogol', a translation of De Laet's work entitled "Description of India and Fragment of Indian History", translated by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Bannerjee (Bombay, 1928), p.113.
 - 2 See 'The Mansabdari System' by Abdul Aziz, pp. 114-116.
 - 3 For details of mansabdars, See the list given in the end of this chapter, Appendix 'C'.
 - 4 'The Empire of the Great Mogol', a translation of De Laet's work by J.S. Joyland, pp. 116-118.

The comparison of the two lists of mansabdars- one of Abul Fazl and the other of De Laet- shows that the total number of mansabdars increased in the last decade of Akbar's reign. In the 40th Regnal Year (1595-96 A.D.) the total number of mansabdars alive in that year was nearly 1650 (excluding 150 mansabdars who were dead in the 40th year out of 1800) but in the 50th Regnal Year (1605 A.D.) the total number of mansabdars alive was ²⁹⁴¹~~2,491~~. It appears that Akbar conferred mansabs more freely in the last decade than previously.

NUMBER OF THE NOBLES

Though historical information about the total number of mansabdars of Akbar's reign is limited, we have enough material to get the total number of the nobles of his reign. There are two contemporary sources available giving details about the total number of the nobles at different periods of Akbar's reign- one is Tabaqat-i-Akbari written by Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi who gives a list of amirs or nobles who reached the rank of an amir or noble till the end of the 38th Regnal Year (1593-94 A.D., 1001-2 A.H.) of Akbar's reign and the other is given by Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari which mentions all those persons who had reached the rank of the nobility till the 40th Regnal Year (1595-96 A.D.; 1003-4 A.H.) of the reign of Akbar.

The total number of nobles mentioned in the list of Nizamuddin Ahmad is 204 but this figure does not indicate the total number of nobles of that period.¹ Nizamuddin remarks before giving the list of the nobles that he had confined himself to a mention of the names or biographical sketches of the great amirs or great nobles only.² A careful study of his list reveals that neither he has included all the great nobles of the period nor has he included only the great nobles. Many of the great amirs like Mirza Sulaiman; Mirza Ibrahim; Mirza Mozaffar Husain Safawi; Prince Sultan Khusrau who were mansabdars of the rank of 5,000 have no place in his list, whereas many nobles who had just received the rank of the nobility (mansabdars of 500) have been included in his list. Syed Abul Qasim, son of Syed Mohammad Mir Adk; Rajah Mukatman Bahadauriya; Nazar Khan, son of Said Khan Gakkhar; Abul Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khan; Mohammad Khan Niyazi; Ram Das Kachhwaha; Mirza Ali Beg Alamshahi; Mir Tahir-i-Murawi; Janish Bahadur; Shadman, son of Khan-i-Azam; Farrukh Khan, son of Khan-i-Kalan; Shah Quli Khan Naranji; Mir Abdul-hai, Mir Adl; Mirza Faridun; Syed Chhaju Barha; Hasan Khan Batani; Sani Khan of Herat; Jalal Khan Qurchi; Beg Nurin Khan Quchin, etc. included in the list of the Tabaqat were all amirs or nobles

1 ~~See the Appendix 'A' given in the end of this Chapter.~~

2 T.A.II, B.De, p. 653.

of the rank of Five Hundred only.¹ Lal Khan Kolabi or Badakhshi mentioned as one of the great amirs by Nizamuddin was only a mansabdar of Five Hundred.²

At the end of the list of amirs, Nizamuddin says that everybody mentioned in the list was of the rank higher than that of an amir or noble.³ A close perusal of the list reveals that this statement also does not appear to be correct. Some of the persons included in his list had not attained to the rank of an amir or noble by that time. Rai Manohar, son of Rajah Lonkaran; Bahadur Khan Qurdar and Shaikh Bayazid Chishti mentioned by Nizamuddin as nobles, have been included as the mansabdars of 400 by Abul Fazl in the 40th Regnal Year of Akbar's reign.⁴ Therefore, they could not be called amirs and appears to be mentioned by mistake by Nizamuddin as nobles.

Abul Fazl, in his list of grandees of the empire in the Ain, mentions the names of 248 nobles (excluding three sons of Akbar) who had reached the rank of an amir or noble till the 40th Regnal Year (1595-96 A.D.) of Akbar's reign. A comparative study of the two lists- one given by

1 See numbers, 174, 196, 120, 168, 172, 173, 188, 182, 171, 195, 163, 131, 175, 198, 144, 119, 136, 158, 156 of Appendix 'A' given in the end of this Chapter.

2 T.A.II, B.De. p. 675.

3 T.A.II, B.De, 684.

4 See numbers, 166, 199, 200 of Appendix 'A' given in the end of this Chapter and Ain I, Bloch, numbers 260, 265, 269, pp. 552-555.

Nizamuddin and the other given by Abul Fazl- reveals that none of the lists is complete. Many nobles included in the list of the nobles by Nizamuddin have not been mentioned by Abul Fazl. Even the great amirs like Khizr Khwajah Khan; Mirza Quli Khan, brother of Haider Mohammad Khan; Muhibb Ali Khan Rohtasi; Kamal Khan Gakkhar; Naurang Khan; Shah Mohammad Khan Atgah; Fattu Afghan; Fath Khan Filban; Rajah Askaran; Rajah Lonkaran; Tardi Khan, son of Qiya Khan Gang; Rajah Khangar; Sa'id Khan Gakkhar; Safdar Khan Khasa Khail; Rajah Gopal; Khurram Khan; Sultan Husain Khan etc. have been left out by Abul Fazl.¹ The following table shows the total number of nobles uptill the 40th Regnal Year of Akbar's reign:²

Mansabdars holding mansab of	Total number in the 40th R.Y. as given in the Ain	Total number of nobles in the 40th R.Y.
-----	-----	-----
3		
5,000	30	32
4,500	2	2
4,000	9	12

- 1 See numbers, 12, 41, 58, 62, 71, 72, 78, 80, 89, 90, 97, 99, 103, 109, 121, 148, 141 of Appendix 'A' given in the end of this Chapter.
- 2 This table has been prepared on the basis of the two lists- one of Nizamuddin and the other of Abul Fazl. Where there is discrepancy in the mansab given in the two lists, I have accepted the one given by Abul Fazl, as he was the official historian of the period and as such is more reliable.
- 3 Mansabs above the rank of 5000 were given to the princes of royal blood only. It was in the last decade of Akbar's reign that nobles also received higher mansabs. The table includes Prince Khusrau whose mansab was 5000 but the other Princes are not included as their mansab was above 5000.

Mansabdars holding mansab of	Total number in the 40th R.Y. as given in the Ain	Total number of nobles in the 40th R.Y.
3,500	2	2
3,000	17	18
2,500	8	8
2,000	27	36
1,500	7	8
1,250	1	1
1,000	31	34
900	38	38
800	2	2
700	25	25
600	3	3
500	46	46
Nobles (mansab not known) *	-	9
Total nobles or amirs	248	276

In this way we find that the total number of amirs or nobles upto the 40th Regnal Year (1595-96 A.D.) was (276 + 3 princes) 279. The number of nobles increased in the last decade of Akbar's reign. There was a great increase in the number of mansabdars of all grades between the 40th year

* Their mansab is not known but they have been mentioned as amirs or nobles by Nizamuddin in the list of nobles in the Tabaqat. Some of them have been mentioned as great amirs but as their mansab is not known I have placed them in this category of nobles.

and the 50th year, i.e. from 1595 A.D. to 1605 A.D. Many nobles got promotions and their rank increased considerably in this period. Mansabdars of the lower ranks got promotions and attained to the rank of Amarat wa Umrai and thus increased the total number of amirs. The appointment of new mansabdars to higher grades further increased the number of nobles. For further details see the table given below:

Mansabdars holding mansabs of (excluding princes)	Total nobles upto the 40th R.Y. (1595-96 A.D.)	Total nobles upto the 50th R.Y. (1605 A.D.)
7,000	-	3
5,000	31	37
4,500	2	1
4,000	12	17
3,500	2	2
3,000	18	28
2,500	8	7
2,000	36	48
1,600	-	1
1,500	8	17
1,200	1	-
1,200	-	1
1,000	34	60
900	38	29
800	2	2
700	25	30
600	3	3
500	46	55
Nobles or amirs (mansab not known)	9	11
Total Nobles	275	352

1 ~~This table is prepared on the basis of the list of nobles given in the end of this book.~~

* This number is excluding the four princes (Salim, Murad, Daniyal and Khusrau). If we add them the total comes to 279 as mentioned earlier in this Chapter.

Thus we see that the total number of amirs or nobles (excluding the princes of the royal blood) of Akbar's reign was about 352. A comparison with the nobility of Aurangzeb's reign reveals that the number of mansabdars who attained to the rank of nobility was much higher under Aurangzeb than under Akbar.¹ Under Akbar the rank of the nobility was not easily attained. It was difficult to get even the mansab of 500 which was minimum to enter the rank of the nobility. Under Aurangzeb, the number of nobles was greater even when the minimum limit to enter the rank of the nobility was mansab of 1000. But in Akbar's time even the mansab of 200 was of much importance. Though the holders of mansabs below 500 could not be technically called amirs or nobles but they were in the imperial service and as servants of the royal threshold they conquered territories, helped in the administration and advised the emperor. Abul Fazl in his list of grandees of the empire in the Ain has given the names of mansabdars upto mansabdars of Two Hundred. Of the mansabdars below Two Hundred, he only gives the number.² It was in the reigns of the later emperors that the mansabs were freely distributed, though the

1 In Aurangzeb's time only the mansabdarsof 1,000 and above were entitled to be called amirs or nobles. During Aurangzeb's reign 486 mansabdars reached the rank of nobility in the period from 1658 A.D. to 1678 A.D. and the number increased to 575 in the period from 1679 A.D. to 1707 A.D. See The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, pp. 7,9,175-215,216-271.

2 See Ain I, Bloch, pp. 548-595. I have given a list of mansabdars below 500 to 200 in the end of the book. See Appendix 'B'.

process had started in the last decade of Akbar's reign.

COMPOSITION OF THE NOBILITY

Nizamuddin Ahmad remarks that everybody who had five hundred retainers was not given the rank of an amir shows that the rank of *amarat-wa-umrai* was not open to all. The nobility formed the ruling group and was as such the richest class of the empire. Therefore, entrance into this class was not an easy task. The policy of Akbar was that everybody should begin from the lowest rung of the ladder and rise by his own merits, service and faithfulness. Abul Fazl remarks, "Those who were pure within, and were endowed with real nobility, rose in ranks day by day, and those who made an embroidered robe of outward purity the veil of inward nastiness, and sold barley while passing it off as wheat were in the end involved in loss and ignominy and became disgraced for ever and ever."¹ But sometimes higher mansabs were conferred in the beginning also. Abul Fazl attributes to Akbar having supernatural power of recognising men of ability and honesty and often praises him as a good physiognomist. The emperor's eyes were considered to be sharp enough to discern the merits and demerits of each

1 A.N.II, p.38.

individual.¹ However, the emperor was guided by certain well defined rules in the appointment of his nobles.

The heredity of a person was of great importance in the appointment of nobles. Those who had claims to high birth and noble descent had the best claims of all to the rank of nobility. Akbar had a great respect for Shaikhs and Syeds and we find that they rose to prominence in his reign. Mirzas and Sultans belonging to royal families, descendants of saints and other men of noble lineage- were all the highest claimants to the rank of nobility. A deep insight of the nobility of Akbar's reign reveals that a number of persons belonging to the rank of nobility were khanazads.² Those who were not khanazads were either men of high birth and noble lineage³ or Zamindars or nobles and high officers of other countries (or) were scholars, men of letters, good administrators and religious divines etc.

It is worth noticing that many persons combined in themselves more than one qualification for the attainment to the rank of nobility. Many mansabdars on the one hand were khanazads, on the other hand had claims to high birth also.

1 Abul Fazl says, "His Majesty sees through some men at the first glance, and confers upon them high rank".
Ain I, Bloch, p.248.

2 The term 'khanazadas' means 'the offspring of slaves' and was applied to all mansabdars whose ancestors in any capacity served the Timurid family or whose relations were already in imperial service.

3 Mirza Sharafuddin Husain was not a khanazad but because of his high birth and noble, lineage rose to prominence though he had rebelled many times in the reign of Akbar and had given much trouble to Akbar. Abul Fazl justifies

There were others who were on the one hand khanazads on the other were zamindars also; there was still another group of nobles who were on one hand khanazads, on the other hand were scholars, theologians, physicians, poets and men of letters and so on. The following table shows the position of the khanazads in the nobility under Akbar:¹

Mansabadars (excluding the four princes)	Total number of mansabdars	Number of Khanazads
Mansabdars of 5,000	29	18
" 4,500	2	1
" 4,000	9	4
" 3,500	2	1
" 3,000	17	8
" 2,500	8	5
" 2,000	27	5
" 1,500	8	5
" 1,250	1	-
" 1,000	31	5
" 900	35	12
" 800	2	1
" 700	27	9
" 600	4	3
" 500	46	15
TOTAL	248	92

Thus we find out that upto the 40th R.Y. (1595-96 A.D. of Akbar's reign out of 248 nobles 92 were khanazads, that

(contd..)

Akbar's act of promoting him by saying, 'Do not say that to show this man (Sharfuddin Husain) favour above his rank was to transgress the laws of justice. The place of justice is one thing and the station of benevolence is another.' Akbarnamah, II, p.37. The Mirza was the descendant of the renowned saint of Samargand, named Khwajah Nasiruddin Ubaydullah Ahrar. The incident also reflects Akbar's regard for the saints and Syeds.

¹ This list is based on the list of nobles given in the Ain-i-Akari.

is to say that 37% of the nobles were khanazads. In the lower ranks the number was still higher. In the 40th R.Y. out of 163 mansabdars from the rank of 200 to 500 the number of kahanazads was 71 that is to say 43.5% of the low mansabdars were khanazads.¹ The number of khanazads of the mansabdars below 200 ~~not~~ must be still higher but as the total number of the mansabdars below the rank of 200 is not known and it is difficult to trace their heritage in the lack of historical information, it becomes an uphill task to give the number of khanazads. Two facts come to light from the above study. Firstly, that to be a khanazad was the greatest qualification for the appointment of nobles. Secondly, the number of khanazads was higher in the lower ranks in comparison to upper ranks. This again reflects Akbar's policy of encouraging men of lower ranks to rise by sheer dint of hard work, faithfulness and ability.

Then there were nobles who were not khanazads but were men of noble descent. They were the descendants of saints, respectable renowned persons or religious mendicants etc. Mirza Sharafuddin Husain (mansabdar of 5,000) was a descendant of the renowned saint khwajah Nasiruddin

1 ~~See the Appendix 'B' given in the end of the book containing the list of low mansabdars.~~

Ubaydullah Ahrari.¹ Asaf Khan Abdul Majid of Herat (mansabdar of 3000) was a descendant of Shaikh Abu Bakr-i-Taybadi.² His younger brother Wazir Khan was a mansabdar of 4000 at Akbar's court. Mir Muizzulmulk of Mashhad traced his descent to Ali Musa Raza, the 8th Imam of the Shias. He and his younger brother Mir Ali Akbar were nobles of the rank of 3000 under Akbar. Shahabaz Khan Kambu (mansabdar of 2000) was a descendant of Haji Ismail, a disciple of the renowned Saint Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan. Shaikh Ibrahim (mansabdar of 2000) was the brother's son of the renowned saint Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpur.³ Shaikh Ahmad (mansabdar of 5000) was the son of Shaikh Salim Chishti. Shaikh Abdullah was the son of the renowned saint Shaikh Mohammad Ghaus of Gwaliyar. He gradually rose to the dignity of a noble of the rank of 3000 under Akbar.

A number of persons in the nobility of Akbar were Shaikhs and Syeds. As the emperor had great regard for these persons, they gradually rose to higher mansabs and attained

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- 1 Mirza Sharafuddin was the son of Khwajah Muin, the son of Khawand Mahmud, second son of Khwajah Kalan (known as Khwajagan Khwajah), eldest son of the saint Khwajah Nasiruddin Ubaydullah Ahrar. Hence Mirza Sharafuddin is generally called Ahrari. He is wrongly called Siefuddeen in Stewart's, History of Bengal (p.108); Ain.I, Bloch, 337.
 - 2 Shaikh Zaynuddin Abu Bakr-i-Taybadi was a saint at the time of Taimur. He died in 791 A.H. His biography's given in Jami's 'Nafhatu'l-Uns. Taybad belongs to Jam-i-Khu'rasan.
 - 3 As he belonged to Fathpur Sikri, he is called Shaikh Salim-i-Sikriwal also.

to the rank of amaratwa Umrai or nobility. Abul Fazl remarks, "Many good Saiyyids had been raised to dignities and high offices by the favour of His Majesty, and from time to time they were still farther promoted and the garden of their wishes kept watered and verdant. Nor did he permit that any member of this family should lay his head on the holy feet or rub the forehead on the threshold of fortune.¹" The position of the Shaikhs and Syeds in the nobility of Akbar is clearly indicated by the following table based on the Ain-i-Akbari.²

Mansabdars of	Total Mansabdars	Shaikhs	Syeds	Total
5000	29	-	1	1
3000 to 5000	30	2	4	6
1000 to 3000	74	3	8	11
500 to 1000	115	3	21	24
Total	248	8	34	42

Thus out of two hundred and forty eight nobles forty-two were Shaikhs and Syeds.³ Their number increased

1 A.N.Vol.III. Eng. Tr. p.399. It appears that Akbar exempted the Syeds from the ceremony of prostration (p.399,f.n.1).

2 The princes of the royal blood are not included in the table.

3 Sometimes the Syeds also used the epithet of Shaikh. For example Shaikh Mohammad Bokhari (no.77, of the Ain, Bloch) and Shaikh Faridi-Bokhari (No.99, of the Ain Bloch) were Syeds. In such cases their number is included only in one category.

to forty-nine by the end of the ^{reign} year¹ with the appointment of new mansabdars. See the table below:

Mansabdars	Shaikhs	Syeds	Total
7,000	-	-	-
5,000	1	1	2
3,000 to 5000	3	4	7
1000 to 3000	4	12	16
500 to 1000	6	18	24
Total	14	35	49

Then there were nobles who were distinguished persons holding land in the country. These were called Zamindars or landholders. They were independent and held both distinction and power in their respective domains and as such belonged to the ruling class. Akbar granted mansabs to such Zamindars and gave them a respectable position in the official hierarchy. The ancestral domains of these Zamindars were left to them as watan jagirs but as government officials ordinary jagirs were assigned to them elsewhere in the empire. The Zamindars served the State under the Sultans of Delhi but Akbar gave it a great importance by including a large number of zamindars and their relations in the imperial

~~1 This table is based on the list of nobles in the 50th R.Y. (1605 A.D.) given in the end of this book.~~

service and greatly enhancing their prestige and power by raising them to the rank of nobility.¹ The position of zamindars in the nobility in the 40th Regnal Year (1595 -96 A.D.) is indicated in the table given below based on Ain-i-Akbari.

Mansabdars (excluding the princes)	Total Mansabdars	Total Zamindars	Zamindars whose re- lations were already mansabdars	Other Zamin- dars
5000 Zat	29	3	2	1
3000 Zat to 5000	30	2	1	1
1000 Zat to 3000	74	10	4	6
500 Zat to 1000	115	14	10	4
Total	248	29	17	12

Thus out of 248 nobles in the 40th Regnal Year of Akbar's reign 29 were zamindars and out of these twenty-nine zamindars, 17 zamindars were such whose relations were already in service. The position of zamindars in the nobility at the time of the death of Akbar that is to say in the

1 M.Athar Ali rightly says that the inclusion of Zamindars among the officers of the State was no innovation of the Mughals. See references to rais under Balban in Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* ed. Professor S.A.Rashid, Aligarh, Vol.I, pp. 62,102,125,163.Cf. *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, p.12.

50th Regnal Year (1605 A.D.) can be seen in the following table:¹

Mansabdars (excluding the princes)	Total Mansabdars	Total Zamindars	Zamindars whose relations were already in service	Other Zamindar
7000 Zat	3	1	1	-
5000	36	6	4	2
3000 to 5000	48	6	4	2
1000 to 3000	132	22	10	12
500 to 1000	118	9	6	3
Nobles (whose mansab is not known)	14	1	1	-
Total	351	45	26	19

The above figures show that Akbar encouraged the Zamindars and gave them distinguished positions. Out of three persons holding the rank of 7000, one was a zamindar. That means a zamindar was raised to the highest position held by any noble of the empire.² Six zamindars held the rank of 5000. Out of the total number of 351 nobles 45 were Zamindars.

Then there were nobles, high officers or relatives of the royal families of other countries who were included in the nobility of Akbar. They were included in the nobility

1 This table is prepared on the basis of the list of nobles given in the Ain and in the end of this book, Appendix 'A'.

2 He was Rajah Man Singh of Amber.

because of their past experience, status and influence. The emperor took in considerations the honourable position enjoyed by them earlier while granting them mansabs. Usually such persons received high mansabs at the very beginning because of their old experience and position. It was partially done to keep them satisfied at the new court. Mirza Mozaffar Husain Safawi belonged to the royal family of Persia. He came to Akbar's court in the 40th Regnal Year (1595-96 A.D.) and received the mansab of 5000.¹ Mirza Rustam Safawi, the younger brother of Muzaffar Husain came to Akbar's court in the 38th Regnal Year (1593-94 A.D.) and received the mansab of 5000.² Iskandar Khan was a descendant of Uzbeg kings and was a mansabdar of 3000 in Akbar's service.³ In the 38th Regnal Year (1593-94 A.D.) Mirza Jani Beg, ruler of Thattah joined Akbar's service and got the mansab of 3000. In the 42nd R.Y. (1597-98 A.D.) he was promoted to the rank of 3,500.⁴ When Khuda Wand Khan Dakhini or Deccani, who had risen to great dignities at the Nizam-shahi court joined Akbar's service, he was well received by the emperor who made him a mansabdar of One Thousand and gave him Pattan in Gujarat as jagir.⁵ Mir Murtaza Khan was

1 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 327-28; A.N.III, pp. 1030-31.

2 Ibid., pp. 328-29; Ibid., pp. 992-93.

3 ~~A~~Ain. I, Bloch, pp. 394-95.

4 Ibid., p. 391.

5 Ibid., p. 490.

first in the service of Adil Shah of Bijapur. Then Murtaza Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar called him to Ahmadnagar and made him faujdar of Berar and later Amir-ul-Umarah. When Murtaza Nizamshah suffered from insanity, Mir Murtaza lost all his property. He then joined Akbar's service who made him a mansabdar of One Thousand.¹ Quraysh Sultan, son of Abdur Rashid Khan ruler of Kashghar, came to Hindustan in the 34th Regnal Year and was well received by Akbar who gave to him a mansab of Seven Hundred.²

The members of the accountant castes, khatris and kayasths ^{and then} etc. who had no claims to high birth but were pure administrators and accountants were also included in the nobility. Generally they received low mansabs at the time of appointment but gradually they rose to higher mansabs. Muzaffar Khan Turbati was at first Bairam Khan's diwan. When he joined Akbar's service, he was made Amil (collector) of the pargana of Pasrur. Subsequently Akbar made him Diwan-i-Buyutat (collector of the Imperial stores and at last Diwan or Wazir of the empire).³ Khwajah Shah Mansur of Shiraz was at first appointed mushrif (accountant) of the Khushbukhana (Perfumery Department) in Akbar's service. Afterwards he served as diwan of Khan-i-zaman and later on of

1 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 498-99.

2 Ain I, Bloch, p. 511.

3 Ibid., p. 373.

Munim Khan. But in the end he was appointed wazir of the empire.¹ Rajah Todar Mal, a Khatri held insignificant posts in the beginning of Akbar's reign but gradually he rose to higher positions and at last in the 22nd R.Y. (1577-78 A.D.), he was appointed wazir of the empire.² Ray Patr Das, a Khatri was in the beginning of Akbar's reign accountant or Mushrif of the elephant stables. In the 30th R.Y. he was made diwan of Bihar and in the 43rd R.Y. diwan of Kabul. In the 46th R.Y. he was made a mansabdar of 3000 and in the 48th R.Y. he was raised to the mansab of 5000 and given the title of Rajah Bikramajit.³

Finally, scholars, poets, physicians, theologians and men of letters were sometimes included in the nobility because of their knowledge, scholarship and talents. To this group belonged Shaikh Abul Fazl, the author of Akbarnamah; Ghazi Khan Badakhshi who had studied Law and Hadis and was one of the most learned of the age; Mir Fathullah Shirazi; Mir Murtaza Sharifi, Mulla Pir Mohammad ~~etc.~~ *and others* who were the philosophers and theologians of the age and Hakim Abul Fath of Gilan; Hakim Ali; Hakim Hamam; Hakim Ain-ul-mulk etc. who were the physicians of the age.

1 Ain I, Bloch, p.475.

2 Ibid., p. 376.

3 Ibid., pp. 523-24.

RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The nobility of Babar and Humayun was heterogenous in character. At the time of Akbar's accession the nobility came to consist of well organised racial groups. There were the Turanis, Iranis, Afghans, Indian Muslims and Rajputs. Akbar wanted to establish unity among these different racial groups. His policy of Sulh-i-kul (Peace with all) indicates his desire to integrate all racial groups into a single imperial service. He tried to prevent sectarian differences among them from interfering with their loyalty to the throne. He often assigned officers belonging to various groups to serve under one superior officer but the distinct character of each group was respected. Therefore, the nobility was the symbol of unity in diversity.

Turanis

Turani was a term applied to any person coming from central Asia, where the Turkish languages were spoken. The natives of Badakhshan, Balkh, Bukhara, Transoxiana, Andiyan ^{and others} etc. were all Turanis. Persons belonging to Barlas, Dulday, Sildoz and other chaghtai tribes were all Turanis. Though the Mughal emperors were themselves Turanis, the Turani group was not always the dominant section of the Mughal nobility. It may be so in the reign of Babar, but in the reign of Humayun, after his return from Persia, the number of Irani nobles had considerably increased. While most of

the Turanis were Sunnis, most of the Iranis were Shias. Therefore, there were rival¹aries and jealousies between the two groups. Akbar tried to maintain proper balance between these two groups by not permitting either group to overpower the other. Surprisingly enough we find in Akbar's reign sometimes the Turanis siding with the Iranis and Iranis siding the Turanis for political purposes.¹

Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam; Mirza Shahrukh; Mirza Sulaiman; Mirza Ibrahim; Mirza Sharafuddin Husain; Mohammad Quli Khan Barlas; Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan; Said Khan (haghtai; Shamsuddin Mohammad Khan Atgah, Khan-i-Azam; Qutbuddin Mohammad Khan; Qulij Khan Andiyani; Tardi Beg Khan Turkistani; Yusuf Mohammad Khan Kokah; Adham Khan Kokah; Ali Quli Khan Shaibani; Bahadur Khan Shaibani; Abdullah Khan Uzbek; Shujaat Khan etc. were all Turani nobles of high rank in Akbar's services. All of them, except Mirza Aziz Kokah who was a mansabdar of 7000, were mansabdars of 5,000.²

Iranis

The Iranis were also called Persians, Iraqis or Khurasanis. The Persian-speaking people from Herat upto

1 This point has been discussed in detail in Chapter II of this work. AM II, p. 250

2 For further details, see the list of nobles given in the end of this book. Appendix 'A'.

Baghdad were considered to be Iranis. The natives of Khurasan, Herat, Shiraz, Nishapur, Sistan, Gilan, Kashi, Kashan, Khawaf, Mashhad, ^{and then} etc. were all Iranis. They had an honourable position in the nobility under Akbar. Sometimes they ^{even} ~~can~~ overshadowed the Turanis. The Iranis were even considered to be more cultured than the Turanis. The Turanis, especially the Badakshis, were regarded as boorish in India.

Mirza Muzaffar Husain Safawi; Bairam Khan, Khan-i- ^{See 1A} Khanan; Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan; Mirza Rustam Safawi; Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan Nishapuri; Sadiq Mohammad Khan; Husain Quli Khan, Khan-i-Jahan; Zain Khan Kokah; Saif Khan Kokah; Tarson Mohammad Khan; Pir Mohammad Khan Sherwani; Mirza Yusuf Khan Razawi; Mohammad Qasim Khan Nishapuri; Mahdi Qasim Khan; Muzaffar Khan Turbati were all Irani nobles of high rank in Akbar's service. All of them were mansabdars of 5,000 except Mirza Yusuf Khan Razawi who was a mansabdar of 4,500 and Mohammad Qasim Khan Nishapuri, Muzaffar Khan Turbati, Mahdi Qasim Khan and Saif Khan Kokah who were mansabdars of 4,000.¹

Afghans

The Afghans were foreigners belonging to different

1 For details, See the list of nobles given in the end of this book, Appendix 'A'.

Afghan tribes residing in Afghanistan. The famous Afghan tribes were Lodis, Maidanis, Rohillas, Khwazishgi, Yusufzai, Niyazi, Khasa-Khail ^{& Sher} etc. They started coming to India early in the Sultanate period. In 1451 A.D. Bahol Lodi founded the first Afghan empire in India. Their number considerably increased when Bahlol invited the Afghans of Roh in Afghanistan to come to India. Before the coming of the Mughals, they were well settled in India. Babar and Humayun had to deal with powerful Afghan leaders and they succeeded in winning over a number of Afghans to their side. In 1540 A.D. Sher Shah Sur founded the second Afghan empire in India. But it proved to be too short lived and was soon followed by the restoration of the Mughal authority.

In the reign of Akbar, the Afghans were the cause of a lot of turbulence and disorder, particularly on the north-west and the east frontiers. He had to send his military commanders again and again against them to put a stop to their nefarious activities. No sooner the military generals of Akbar turned their back, than they again ^{raised} rose ^{* rise} their heads. There appears to be two reasons responsible for their rebellious attitude. Firstly, the Afghans were by nature turbulent and scoundrels.¹ The free mountain air of their homelands had made them freedom loving. They wanted

1 There was a proverb.

to live independently and were not ready to submit to the authority of anybody else. In the absence of strong centralised government in their homeland, they had become accustomed to the tribal form of government and knew no loyalty to anybody else except their tribal chief. Secondly, the Afghans in the near past belonged to the ruling class and as such had not forgotten the days when they were in power. They were anxiously looking for the opportunity to re-establish their authority. If by bad-luck they had ever to submit to the Mughal authority, they eagerly awaited the opportunity to run away.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising if Akbar did not encourage the Afghans in his service. When the emperor Humayun had gone to Persia, he was advised by the Shah of Iran that as Babar had laid the foundation of the Mughal empire by defeating the Afghans, it was wise to seek the cooperation of the Rajputs to suppress them completely. He further advised the emperor to remove the Afghans from the army and to employ them in trade and made cooperation with the Rajputs and help them. When Humayun came back, he acted upon the advice of the Shah and treated the Rajputs with favour.¹ But Humayun died soonafter regaining the throne and this policy could not be fully implemented. His

1 Zakhirat-ul-khawanin, Vol.I, (Karachi Publication)
pp. 103-104.

wise son Akbar, followed the policy of his father and made it a fundamental principle of his state policy to seek the cooperation of Rajputs. "He did not place much reliance upon the Afghans", says Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin.¹ This explains the reason of the limited number of Afghans in comparison to other racial groups in the nobility of Akbar. It seems to be not a chance but a deliberate policy followed by Akbar to encourage the Rajputs against the Afghans.²

But to say that, Akbar tried to keep the Afghans at an arm's length, would be an exaggeration of the historical fact.³ Akbar had made talent and ability by the basis of appointment and ~~for~~ promotion. Whosoever served him loyally and faithfully, received the reward of his services. Loyalty to the Mughal emperor and the Mughal empire was emphasised and Akbar made no difference on the basis of racial groups. The Afghans who joined the Mughal service, served the emperor faithfully, fought for the cause of the Mughal empire, no doubt, received the fruit of their faithfulness. We find that in the reign of Akbar twelve Afghans rose to prominence and received the rank of nobility.⁴

1 Zakhirat-ul-khawanin, Vol.I, p.104. AN III Tr. P. 530

2 Ibid., p.104. The author of the Zakhirat says that Arsh Ashiyani(Akbar) treated the Rajputs with great kindness.

3 See 'the Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb' by M.Athar Ali, p. 20.

4 See the list of nobles given in the end of this book, Appendix 'A'.

Five of them namely Daulat Khan Lodi; Bahar Khan, Mohammad Asghar; Fattu Afghan; Fath Khan Masnad-i-Ali; and Safdar Khan Khasa Khail rose to the dignity of two hazari amir (noble of the rank of 2000) which was regarded considerably high mansab. One Rahmat Khan Faujdar had a mansab of 1500; Salim Khan Sirmur or Kakr and Baz Bahadur Afghan had mansabs of One Thousand; Babu Mankli had the mansab of Seven Hundred and Hasan Khan Batani, Mohammad Khan Niyazi and Bahadur Khan Qurdar had the mansabs of Five Hundred.¹ Giving account of the life of Mohammad Khan Niyazi, the author of the Zakhirat says that he was popularly known as 'Nawab Miyan' and was one of the great amirs of Akbar (Arsh Ashiyani) and he was one of those three Afghans on whom the emperor placed much reliance.²

There were number of other Afghans who served on low mansabs or simply as soldiers in the military contingents of other nobles in the service of Akbar. We know from the authority of the Zakhirat that the contingent of Mirza Yusuf Khan, who was a noble of the rank of 4,500 in the reign of Akbar, mainly consisted of Rohilla Afghans.³ Therefore,

1 ~~See the list of nobles given in the end of this book, Appendix 'A'.~~

2 Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol. I, p. 160. See his biography given on pp. 160-164 there.

3 Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Vol. I, p. 172

it is hard to agree with the view that Akbar tried to keep the Afghans away but at the same time the fact remains that their promotions in comparison to other racial groups were slow.¹

Indian Muslims

The Indian Muslims belonged to certain important clans like the Syeds of Barha, Chisti Shaikhs and the Kambus and were popularly known as 'Shaikhzadas'. Originally their ancestors had come from foreign lands and settled in India. In course of time they lost all contact with their homelands and practiced Indian customs and traditions and adopted Indian habits. They were so much intermingled with the Indian society that they came to be regarded as Indian Muslims. It seems a deliberate policy of Akbar to promote Indian Muslims and give them honourable positions in the official hierarchy. The reasons are not far to seek. Firstly, by including Indian Muslims, as was the case with the Rajputs,

1 Daulat Khan Lodi was in the service of Akbar from the year of Akbar's accession (1566 A.D.) upto 1601 A.D. when the former died. He had served the emperor for about 46 long years with loyalty, bravery and faithfulness but he could not rise above the rank of 2,000. No doubt it was sufficiently high mansab but others had arisen above that even, without long and dutiful service to their credit. When he died, Akbar is said to have remarked that the lion of Sher Shah had died. *M.U.I.V.P. 465, Text II, pp. 5-8* Even Mohammad Khan Niyazi on whom the emperor placed much reliance and who was famous for bravery could not rise above the rank of 500 in the reign of Akbar. In the reign of Jahangir he rose to higher dignities. It is evident from the position accorded to Khan-i-Jahan Lodi in the reign of Jahangir that the Afghans had honourable positions under Jahangir. The gradual growth in the number of Afghans (contd..)

Akbar wanted to remove the foreign character of the nobility and made it Indianised. Secondly, Akbar had incorporated powerful Rajput chiefs in the rank of the nobility. By including Indian Muslims in the nobility and raising them to high posts, he wanted to counter-balance Rajputs and Indian Muslims, the two powerful groups of Hindustani amirs. Early in the beginning of the reign Syeds of Barha were encouraged and given leading positions in the army. They were famous for their martial qualities and usually formed the vanguard of the Mughal armies. After the birth of Prince Salim, the Shaikhzadas of Chishti rose to prominence. The Kambus and the Kashmiris were also promoted. The appointment of Shahbaz Khan Kambu to a high post and his promotion to the rank of nobility is significant in the sense that it illustrates Akbar's policy of enlarging the Mughal nobility in order to absorb new elements.¹

Shaikh Abul Fazl; Shaikh Ibrahim Chishti; Syed Mahmud Khan Barha; Shahbaz Khan Kambu; Shaikh Daulat Bakhtyar;

(contd..)

in the later reigns weakened the internal cohesion of the nobility and proved disastrous to the Mughal empire. See *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, p.21.

1 'Kambu' is the name borne by some Hindu, Sikh and Muslim castes spread over the Punjab and Western Uttar Pradesh. See the article, 'Shahbaz Khan Kambu' by Ahsan Jan Qaisar, 'P 48 Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol.I, 1969.

Shaikh Baya Zid Chishti; Syed Qasim Barha; Sardar Khan; Shaikh Jamal Bakhtyar; Mir Abul Qasim; Syed Bayazid Barha; Syed Raju Barha; Shaikh Abdullah Khan; Syed Hashim Barha; Syed Mohammad Mir Adl; Shaikh Abdurrahim Lakhnawi; Shaikh Kabir-i-Chishti; Shaikh Ahmad Chishti were all Indian Muslims who rose to the rank of nobility in Akbar's reign. Of these Shaikh Abul Fazl rose to the high dignity of the mansab of 5000.¹

To this group of Indian Muslims belonged another class of persons who were originally Hindus and inhabitants of Hindustan but who got converted to Islam. They were either themselves Hindus in the beginning or were the descendants of Hindu converts. These people were also known as Indian Muslims. The number of this group of Indian Muslims was very limited in the nobility of Akbar. Akbar seems not to have encouraged the Hindu converts. There were only three Hindu converts in the nobility of Akbar. Itimad Khan of Gujarat; Mihtar Khan, Anisuddin also known as Mihtar Khan Khosa Khail; Itimad Khan Khwaja sara were Hindu converts who rose to the rank of nobility under Akbar.² It appears that because Akbar was ready to include Hindus in the imperial service, he discouraged the conversion to Islam by not encouraging Hindu converts in the nobility.

1 For details, see the list of nobles given in the end of this book (Appendix 'A').

2 See Appendix 'A' in the end of this book.

Rajputs

The inclusion of Rajputs in state service was no innovation of the Mughals. We find Rajputs in the service of the Sultans of Delhi. But by entering into matrimonial alliances with the families of Rajput chiefs and giving them honourable positions in the state service and raising them to the rank of nobility, Akbar tried to Indianise the Mughal nobility.¹ Thus the establishment of matrimonial alliances with the ruling Rajput families became the integral part of Mughal Rajput policy. Rajput talent was utilised and Timurid dynasty gained a rapid extension in prestige and power. Dr. Beni Prasad remarks, "It symbolised the dawn of new era in Indian politics; it gave the country a line of remarkable Sovereigns; it secured to four generations of Mughal emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that medieval India produced."² The Rajputs enjoyed the confidence of the emperor and received promotions in return of their services. By raising a Rajput Rajah (Rajah Man Singh) to the highest position in the empire,³ Akbar made it clear that he made no difference between Hindus

1 History of Mughal Empire by Dr. Ishwari Prasad .

2 History of Jahangir by Dr. Beni Prasad.

3 Mansabdar of 7000.

and Muslims. Some conservative and orthodox Muslims felt dejected because they considered it an attack on their privileges and no doubt their limitation of scope in the imperial service annoyed them. No surprise if orthodox writers like Badaoni accuse Akbar of heresy.

Rajah Bihara Mal Kachhwaha; Rajah Bhagwant Das; Rajah Jagannath Kachhwaha; Rai Durga Sisodia; Rai Rai Singh Rathor; Rajah Raj Singh; Rajah Askaran Kachhwaha; Rai Lonkaran Kachhwaha; Madho Singh; Rajah Rai Sal Darbari; Rai Kalyan Mal Bikaneri; Rai Surjan Hara; Rai Lakhman Bhadauriya; Rajah Ram Chand Baghela; Ram Das Kachhwaha; Sakat Singh; Jagat Singh; Rajah Mukatman Bhadauriya; Rajah Shiyam Singh Tatur; Rajah Jagman Chauhan; Rajah Rupsi Bairagi; Jagmal Kachhwaha; Motah Rajah Udai Singh; Bhao Singh; Partab Singh etc. were Rajput nobles of high rank in Akbar's reign. Rajah Bihara Mal Kachhwaha; Rajah Bhagwant Das and Rajah Jagannath Kachhwaha held the mansabs of 5000. Above all, Rajah Man Singh, a Rajput noble attained the highest rank opened to nobility, i.e. that of 7000.¹

There is a general misconception that Hindus in the service of Akbar were only Rajputs. Though the Rajputs formed the overwhelming majority of the Hindu nobility under

1 For further details, see the list of nobles given in the end of this book. Appendix 'A'.

Akbar, there were other Hindus also in the nobility who were not Rajputs. Rajah Todar Mal; Rajah Birbal; Rai Patr Das entitled Rajah Bikramajit; Kalyan Das (Khatri); Dharu son of Rajah Todar Mal; Parmanand, the khatri ^{and others} etc. who had risen to the rank of nobility during the reign of Akbar were non-Rajputs.¹

Deccanis

The word Deccani means a 'Southerner' and the term was applied to all those persons who were in the service of rulers of the Deccan but for different reasons left their service and joined Mughal service.² In the time of Akbar the number of Deccani nobles was very small and they could not constitute a group of their own. Therefore, no separate group is formed for them- those among the Deccanis who were Iranis being placed under Irani group and the Turanis placed under Turani group and the Indian Muslims under Indian Muslim group-.

There were only four Deccani nobles in the nobility of Akbar. Itimad Khan of Gujarat; Syed Hamid Bokhari; Khudawand Khan Dakhini; Ulugh Khan Habshi were the Deccani nobles of Akbar's reign.³ It was in the reigns of later

¹ See Appendix 'A'.

² See The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.26.

³ See the list of nobles given in the end of this book (Appendix 'A').

Mughal emperors that the number of Deccanis increased with the extension of the mughal power in the South and they came to constitute a powerful group. The Marathas who formed the larger section of the Deccani nobles had not yet entered the Mughal service and not even a single Maratha is found in the nobility of Akbar.

Other Nationalities

There were persons of other nationalities who rose to the rank of nobility under Akbar. Their number was limited. This included the Abbysinians, the Arabians and other persons whose nationality, it is hard to find out. This group includes Ulugh Khan Habshi who was an Abbysinian and rose to the rank of nobility under Akbar. He was a mansabdar of One Thousand.¹ Another person who rose to the rank of nobility under Akbar and belonged to this group was Rumi Khan of Rum.²

THE FOREIGN NOBILITY

It is a controversial issue to distinguish the nobility on the basis of Indian and foreign nobility. The

1 ✓ Ain I, Bloch, p. 483, No.135; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Vol.II, Eng. Tr. p. 970.

2 Ain I, Bloch, p. 489, No. 146.

✓

so-called foreign nobility consisted largely of Turanis and Iranis. Moreland says that just under 70 percent of the nobles whose originⁱⁿ known were foreigners belonging "to families which had either come to India with Humayun or had arrived at the court after the accession of Akbar."¹ In the real sense of the term foreign immigrants who had come from abroad generations back and had lost all contact with their old country cannot be considered as foreigners. They had adopted the Indian customs and traditions and had intermingled with the Indian Society politically and culturally.

It appears that Afghans and Indian Muslims regarded themselves as Indians and not foreigners. During a battle in Gujarat, Daulat Khan Lodi an Afghan noble in the service of Akbar, cried out to Syeds of Barha (Indian Muslims), "Come along, we are brethren and natives of Hindustan. We will show the enemy the Hindustani heroism."²

The Afghans were also regarded Indians by the Mughal emperors. It was but natural for them to regard the Afghans as Indians because when Babar came from his home land in central Asia, only the Turanis (Turks and Mongols) accompanied

1 India at the Death of Akbar, by Morland, pp. 69-70.

2 Zakhirat-ul-Ichsanin vol 1 pp 43-44

him and it was in Afghanistan ~~ahha~~ that Afghans began to join his service. After his conquest of Kabul and his marriage with Bibi Mubarak, an Afghan lady, the number of Afghans in his army increased. In Babarnamah, Babar mentions that he had divided his army into two wings. Turkish nobility and the Hind nobility. It appears that the Turkish nobility represented the class of persons who had accompanied Babar from central Asia and the Hind nobility consisted of the Afghans who joined his service later on. It is clear from the above description that Babar regarded the Afghans as Hindustanis or Indian.

But to narrow-minded Indians who are the original inhabitants of India, the Afghans and Indian Muslims may seem to be foreigners because they originally came from foreign lands. In this sense even the Indians cannot be called Indians and they should be regarded foreigners because they are the descendants of Aryans and the Aryans had come from Central Asia. If the Aryans were foreigners, how can their descendants be called Indian? When they are considered Indians because of their long stay in India, the Afghans and other Muslims, when they permanently settled in India, adopted Indian habits and customs, entered into matrimonial alliances with the native population, broke all connections

with their ancestral lands and a synthesis between Muslim and Hindu cultures occurred, should be considered Indian. M. Athar Ali has rightly described the Afghans and other Indian Muslims as Indian in his list of nobles.¹ Further, he says that the Afghans cannot be properly regarded as foreign immigrants because their homelands lay within the Mughal empire.²

If we regard Turanis and Iranis as foreigners, we will have to treat Afghans and Indian Muslims also as foreigners because they were not the originally inhabitants of India. In this case only the Rajputs, other Hindus and Hindu converted group of Indian Muslim can be treated as the group of Hindustani amirs or Indian nobles and all the rest be regarded as foreigners.

It appears confusing and wrong to divide the nobility on the basis of foreign and Indian nobility. So far the politics of the period is concerned, it hardly mattered whether a person was a foreigner or Indian. Factional groups were formed on the basis of race and religion. No where we find the Turani and Iranis combining together

1 The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb, pp. 175-271.

2 The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p.20.

against the Rajput and Indian Muslims on the basis of foreign nobility or Indian Muslims forming factional group with the Rajputs on the basis of Indian nobility. In

contrast we find rivalries and jealousies among the Iranis and Turanis on one hand and Rajputs and Indian Muslims on the other hand. Further, if the inhabitants of India had regarded themselves as Indians and had tried to keep themselves away from foreigners, they were to be sufferers because the foreigners formed the ruling class. Thus by entering their service and serving them loyally, they rose in power and distinction. The benefit was equal on both sides- the Indians joining the foreigners and thus enhancing their prestige gained strength and the foreigners including the Indians in the nobility got the local support of the countrymen and strengthened Muslim rule in India.

Views can be different on this point. But it is certain that Turanis, Iranis, Afghans, Indian Muslim and Rajputs formed distinct racial groups of their own. Each group was united on the basis of race, religion, customs and traditions and no racial group as a whole could merge in the other. ✓

CHAPTER III

THE MANSABDARI SYSTEM AND THE NOBILITY ~~EVOLUTION~~

~~OF THE MANSAB SYSTEM~~

EVOLUTION OF THE MANSAB SYSTEM

The Arabic word 'Mansib' simply means 'place'.¹ The Arabians say 'mansib' but in Persia and India, the word is pronounced 'mansab'.² The mansab or rank in fact indicated the position of its ~~incidentally~~ holder (mansabdar) in the official hierarchy and incidentally it also reflected the social status of the individual. Not only it determined the status of the mansabdar in the society and the imperial service, but it also fixed his pay and laid upon him certain obligations such as the maintenance of a fixed quota of retainers and an establishment of camels, horses, elephants and beasts of burden etc. A mansab by itself did not express any particular office. Sometimes a mansab was conferred upon an individual in recognition of his services merely to grant him a source of income.³ Irwin explaining the term 'mansab' remarks that its object was to settle precedence and fix the gradation of pay; it did not necessarily imply the exercise of any particular office and meant nothing beyond the fact that the holder was in the employment of the state and bound to yield in return service when called upon.⁴ The

1 Akbar the Great Mogul, V.A. Smith (end edn.), p. 262.

2 Ain I, Bloch, p. 247, note 1.

3 The Mansabdari system and the Mughal army, by Abdul Aziz, pp. 1-2; Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb, by M. Athar Ali, p. 38.

4 The army of the Indian Mughals, Irwine, p. 4; See Peter Mundy's definition of mansabdar, Vol. II, p. 124.

mansabdari system combined in itself all the Civil and military services. Therefore, we find the mansabdari system in the army, in the nobility and in the civil administration.¹

The mansabdari system did not originate with Akbar. The decimal system of organising armies, on which he based the mansab system was prevalent in India even in the Turkish period. As early as in the time of Salban the decimal system was established by the Turks.² The lowest unit was that of ten horsemen whose commander was called Sar-i-khail. The highest unit seems to be of 100,000 whose commander was called a Khan. In between there were various grades of officers. However, the actual number of commands under a particular officer is not certain but definitely Sar-i-khail, Sipah salar, Amir, malik and Khan was the ascending order of officers in the army during the Sultanate period. Changiz Khan and Timur also organised their armies on the decimal system. Under them the lowest unit was that of 10 horsemen. Whereas the highest unit was that of 10,000 (generally called a tumen) under the Mongols, Timur increased the highest limit to 12,000.³ ✓

1 The Mansabdari system and the Mughal army, by Abdul Aziz, p.1.

2 For details, See The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, M. Athar Ali, pp. 38-39; Rise and fall of the Mughal Empire, by R.P. Tripathi, pp. 230-231.

3 The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army, by Abdul Aziz, pp. 16-25. ✓

In the reigns of Sikandar Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi there were officers with ranks upto 10,000 and 12,000. When Sikandar Lodi conferred the Subah of Jaunpur on Jamal Khan, he ordered him to keep up 12,000 horse and to assign them jagirs.¹ Nothing definite is known about the working of mansabdari system during the reign of Babar and Humayun. V.A. Smith says that the title of mansabdari had been conferred by both Babar and Humayun in accordance with Persian precedent.² According to him the earliest mention of the grading of mansabdars in India is the statement of Tod that Bihar Mall (Bhara Mal) was the first prince of Amber who paid homage to the Mohammadan power and he received from Humayun (prior to the Pathan usurpation) the mansab of 5000, as Rajah of Amber.³ Tod's statement cannot be accepted here as Rajah Bhara Mal received the mansab of 5000 and the title of Rajah from Akbar. Further it is clearly mentioned in Akbarnamah that Bhara Mal joined the Mughal service in 1562 A.D. during the reign of Akbar.⁴

1 Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi by ^{Ibbas} Akbar Khan Sherwani, p. 310, Elliot and Dowson, vol. IV.

2 Akbar the Great Mogul, V.A. Smith, p. 101 (2nd edn.).

3 Ibid., pp. 262-63 Cf. Tod's Annals of Amber, Chapter 1 popular ed. ii, p. 286.

4 A.N. Vol. II, Eng. Tr. p. 242.

In Qanun-i-Humayuni, also known as Humayun-namah, Khwandamir, the writer says that Humayun divided all the officers of the state or rather all the inhabitants of his dominions into three classes. He called his brothers and other relatives, his officers (Umarah), his ministers (Wazirs) and his solidiers 'Ahl-i-Daulat' (Officers of the State); the holy persons, the great Shaikhs, the respectable Syeds, the learned men, the Qazis of Islam, the group of philosophers and poets, the judges, the noble and worthy people were called 'Ahl-i-Saadat' (good men); those who possessed beauty and elegance, those who were young and handsome and the musicians were called 'Ahl-i-Murad' (People) of pleasure).¹ ✓ Humayun had three arrows of gold and named them respectively the arrows of Daulat, Saadat and Murad. Each of these arrows was handed over to one firmly established ^{leader} ~~leader~~ of three classes. It was further provided that if intoxicated by power and arrogance, the holder of the arrow neglected the affairs of the state and made the collection of riches his main object he would not succeed in his designs.² Accordingly, three classes of

1 Qanun-i-Humayuni of Khwandamir, Tr. by Baini Prashad (Calcutta, 1940) pp. 25-28; A.N. Vol. I, Eng.Tr. pp. 643-44.

2 Hindu Beg was entrusted with the management of Ahl-i-Daulat. He in accordance with the royal commands superintended, the contraction and expansion, the opening and shutting of the offices of the great amirs, nobles and ministers, all administrators of the state and the judicial officials. He also fixed the salaries of all the officers. Qanun-i-Humayuni, Khwandamir, Tr. Baini Prashad, pp. 28-30. ✓

Daulat, Saadat and Murad were divided into twelve distinctive arrows or classes and everyone received a rank or grade in conformity with his position. The graded list of nobles or officers of Humayun's court is given by Khawandamir which is not very clear but a rough idea can be formed of the position of officers. (1) The emperor, (2) His relations, brethren and all the Sultans who were in the employment (3) The great Shaikhs, the Syeds of the great learned and religious men (4) The great amirs or nobles, (5) The intimate courtiers and ichkis¹ who held mansabs (offices) (6) The other ichkis (7) the head of clans and yuzbegis (8) Champions or young volunteers (9) tahwilders or treasurers (10) soldiers (11) menial servants (12) Door-keepers and watchmen etc.² Dr. S.K. Banerjee is of the view that Humayun tried to classify the nobility into three groups or twelve grades and is said to have thus introduced the mansabdari system in a crude form but it was only in the time of Akbar that the nobles were fully brought

1 Ichkis means an intimate associate, one belonging to the inner circle of court or family. The mansabdari system and the Mughal army by Abdul Azia, p.32. In the translation of Bainsi Prashad the word ichkis is translated as the head men (superior or principal officers). In Akbar-namah, the word is written as ankacian, See A.N.Vol.I Eng. Tr. p. 646, note 1.

2 Qanun-i-Humayuni, Khwandamir, Tr. Bainsi Prashad, pp 31.32; A.N.Vol.I.Eng.Tr.pp. 645-46; The Mansabdari system and the Mughal army by Abdul Aziz, p.32; also see Athar Abbas Rizwi's translation of Qanun-i-Humayun in Hindi.

under control.¹ ✓

The period from Babar's establishment of the Mughal empire to the early years of Akbar's reign was one of conquests and uncertain conditions, during which the old tradition of commands seems to have been practised in an unsystematic way. Neither Babar nor Humayun had the time ^{to} ~~of~~ reorganise the army on a sound basis. Though in the contemporary works we come across the words such as amirs and great amirs khans and sultans, Amir-ul-Umarah and mansabdars, but the mansabdari system of the military organisation as introduced by Akbar was absent.² ✓ In the reign of Sher Shah we find now and then officers with military commands. Shujaat Khan was a commander of 10,000 under Sher Shah.³ But the word mansabdar is not used in the chronicles of the time, a mansabdar being just spoken as Sahib-i-duwazda hazar suwar, Sanib-i-dah hazar suwar etc. From this it appears that the word in this sense had not come into use.⁴ ✓ Islam Shah Sur introduced greater order and

1 See the article 'Kingship and the nobility in Humayun's time by Dr. S.K. Sanerjee, pp. 25-38, Journal of Uttar Pradesh Historical Society, 1941.

2 The Mansabdari system and the Mughal army, Abdul Aziz, pp. 32-36.

3 Tarikh-i-Shershahi, by Abbas Khan Sherwani, Elliot and Dowson, Vol.IV, pp. 425-27.

4 The Mansabdari system and the Mughal army, Abdul Aziz, p.35.

organisation in the army by establishing a graded system. The lowest unit under him consisted of 50 troops, the next higher command was that of 200, then of 250 and the fourth consisted of 500 troops. There were larger divisions also such as those of 5,000; 10,000; and 20,000 men.¹ Thus the decimal system of organisation of armies on which Akbar based the mansabdari system was already in existence but the mansabdari system as instituted by Akbar was different in vital respects from the earlier system, it was both more complex and more manageable.

Dr. Radhey Shyam is of the view that there existed a clumsy pattern of the mansabdari system prior to 1575 A.D. There were ranks from 5000 to 10000 but they were devoid of a scientific principle of gradation.² It seems difficult to agree with the above statement. All the examples he had quoted in support of his assertion are from Blochmann's translation of Ain-i-Akbari. Blochmann's work in this respect cannot be accepted for it is a much later composition. Abul Fazl himself only gave the names and titles of the grandees of the empire. The biographical descriptions of the nobles given in Blochmann's translation of Ain-i-Akbari,

1 M.P. Vol. I, p. 385; Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire by R.P. Tripathi, p. 231.

2 See the article 'Honours, ranks and titles under the great Mughals' by Dr. Radhey Shyam, Islamic Culture, 1973, pp. 340-41.

were written by Blochmann himself on the basis of Maasir-ul-Umarah, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, the Tabaqat-i-Akbari, the Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh and the Akbarnamah.¹ Unless Blochmann gives his source of information, it is difficult to rely upon him. None of the contemporary works such as Akbarnamah, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh and Tabaqat-i-Akbari refers to the conferment of mansabs before 1575 A.D. The first mention of the award of mansab in Akbarnamah is in 1576 A.D. when a mansab of 5000 was conferred on Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan at the time of his appointment to the government of Malwa.² In the same year Qutbuddin Khan was also given the rank of 5000.³ In the Tabaqat, Nizamuddin mentions in the account of 22nd Regnal Year (1577-78 A.D.) that Qizi Khan Badakhshi was promoted to the mansab of a hazari or mansabdar of 1000.⁴ In the account of 986 A.H. (1577-78 A.D.), Badaoni says that at the time Masum Khan, foster brother of Mirza Hakim, came from Kabul to Akbar's court and the emperor conferred upon him the mansab of 500 and appointed him to the district of Bihar. He distinguished himself against the Afghans there and the emperor raised him to the mansab of 1000.⁵

1 Ain.I. Bloch. pp. 320-21, note.2. ✓

2 A.N.III. Eng.Tr. pp. 241-42.

3 Ibid., p. 257.

4 T.A.II. B.D. p. 496.

5 M.T.II. Lowe, pp. 273-74.

In the Maasir-ul-Umaran there are references of the conferment of mansabs before 1575 A.D. It appears that Blochmann on the basis of Maasir-ul-Umaran has made all these statements about the award of mansabs prior to the period 1575 A.D. which Dr. Radhey Shyam has accepted. The author of Maasir says that in the beginning of Akbar's reign Khwajah Jalaluddin Mahmud Bujag received the rank of 2500 and was sent off to the government of Ghazni.¹ According to the Maasir Khwajah-i-Jahan, Aminuddin Mahmud of Herat was promoted to the rank of 1000 by Akbar when he later ascended the throne.² Further, the author of Maasir says that Qiya Khan Gung was given the rank of 5000 after the defeat of Hemu in the battle of Panipat.³ Adham Khan was Panj hazari amir who first acquired a name by his heroism during the siege of Mankot in the 1st Regnal Year (1556-57 A.D.). But the author of Maasir in the case of Adham Khan does not mention the time of the award of mansab.⁴ Mirza Sharafuddin Husain, in the 1st Regnal Year (1556-57 A.D.) paid respects to Akbar and through the influence of Manam Angah and her son Adham Khan, he soon became an amir of the rank of 5000.⁵ The author of the Maasir says that

✓ 1 M.U. Vol. I (Eng. Tr.) pp. 740-741; Ain, I, Bloch, p. 417.

2 " " pp. 823-824; " " p. 467.

3 " " p. 530 ; " " p. 366.

4 " " p. 145 ; " " p. 341.

5 Ain. I. Bloch. p. 339 ; M.U. Vol. II. Eng. Tr. p. 809.

Mahdi Qasim Khan attained the rank of 4000 in Akbar's time but Blochmann says that he was made in the beginning of Akbar's reign a commander of 4000.¹ Soon after Akbar's accession Qasim Khan Mir Bahr was promoted to the rank of an amir and granted the rank of 3000.² Shan Budagh Khan was made a mansabdar of 3000 by Akbar but neither Blochmann, nor the author of Maasir mention the time when he rose to such a dignity.³ In the 5th R.Y. of Akbar's reign (1560-61 A.D.) Afzal Khan was made a mansabdar of 3000.⁴ The Maasir says that Shah Mohammad Khan Qilati was in the 3rd R.Y. (1558-59 A.D.) appointed to the rank of 2000 and granted the title of Khan but Blochmann says that in the end of the 3rd R.Y. he was made a Khan and gradually rose to the rank of a commander of Two Thousand.⁵ About Samanji Khan Qurghuji, Maasir only says that he attained the rank of 1500 under Akbar.⁶ Similarly Shaikh Jamal Bakhtyar's promotion to the rank of 1000 under Akbar is mentioned in the Maasir but the time of the conferment of this mansab is not known.⁷ It is clearly mentioned in Akbarnama that in the 46th R.Y. (1601 A.D.)

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- ✓ 1 M.U.Vol.II, Eng.Tr. p.504; Ain. I. Bloch. p. 372
 Blochmann has not given his source of information.
- 2 M.U.Vol.II. Eng.Tr. pp. 511-12; Ain.I.Bloch, p.412.
- 3 " " p. 745 ; " p.402.
- 4 " I. " p. 149 ; " p.408.
- 5 M.U.Vol.II. " p.758 ; " p.449.
- 6 " " p.703 ; " p.489.
- 7 M.U. Vol.I, Eng. Tr. p. 741; Ain I, Bloch. pp. 469-70.

Khwajagi Mohammad Husain received the rank of 1000, who according to Dr. Radhey Shyam received this mansab about the 3rd R.Y.¹

All the above mentioned instances have been quoted by Dr. Radhey Shyam to prove that the Mansabdari system existed even in the beginning of Akbar's reign.² A careful perusal of all the instances has revealed that except a few of them like Khwajah Jalaluddin Mahmud Bujag, Khwajah-i-Jahan Aminuddin Mahmud of Herat, Qiya Khan Gang, Qasim Khan Mir Bahr and Afzal Khan, it is not clearly mentioned when those persons rose to mansabs mentioned against their names. But even in those cases where the time of conferment is mentioned, on the basis of the Maasir or Blochmann, it cannot be accepted that the mansabdari system was existent prior to 1575 A.D. The Maasir-ul-Umarah is a much later source and in the absence of contemporary historical evidence, it is difficult to agree with Dr. Radhey Shyam's presumption only on the basis of four or five instances of Maasir which does not give the source of information.

No doubt the persons who died before the introduction of the Mansabdari system in 1575 A.D. have been included in

1 A.N. Vol.III. Eng.Tr. p. 1184; M.U. Vol.II.Eng.Tr. p.141; Ain I, Bloch. p. 542.

2 See the article 'Honours, ranks and titles under the Great Mughals' by Dr. Radhey Shyam, pp. 340-41; Islamic Culture, Oct. 1973.

the list of grandees of the empire in the Ain and their mansabs have been mentioned by Abul Fazl. In this category mention may be made of Jairam Khan, Munim Khan, Tardi Beg Khan, Ali Quli, Khan-i-Zaman; Abdullah Khan Uzbek, Sham-suddin Mohammad Atgah Khan; Adham Khan; Pir Mohammad Khan of Shirwan, all of whom have been mentioned in the list of the Ain as the mansabdars of 5000. It appears that none of them enjoyed the mansab in their life time but were given ~~posthumous~~ mansabs. When in 1575 A.D. the mansabdari system was introduced, it seems probably that all those persons who were dead by the time but had reached the rank of an amir or noble, were included in the official record and the ~~posthumous~~ mansabs were allotted to them according to their power and influence at the court to determine their position in the official hierarchy. This assumption is further strengthened by the fact that though Abul Fazl has given their mansabs in his list, in all these cases Nizamuddin Ahmad refers them only as great amirs or amirs and does not mention their mansabs. It confirms that they never actually held those mansabs. Had they enjoyed the high mansab of 5000 in their lifetime, Nizamuddin must have mentioned it. The above study leads to the conclusion that the mansabdari system was introduced in 1575 A.D. and the conception of mansab was absent prior to this period. Even the system of commands or decimal system of organisation of the army prevalent under the Sur rulers appears to be absent

before 1575 A.D. in the Mughal system. The army organisation was in the state of chaos and confusion and there were no fixed military units to be maintained by the commanders of different ranks. It was only in 1575 A.D. that military reorganisation was made on the basis of mansabdari system.

INTRODUCTION OF MANSAB SYSTEM IN 1575 A.D.

Akbar introduced the mansabdari system in 1575 A.D. to prevent fraud and embezzlement by his military officers and to secure the stability of the military organisation. The financial position of the empire was deplorable and the army organisation was indisorder. There was no scientific principle of gradation of the officers. Akbar's mind revolted against all these disorders and the best solution which appealed to his mind was the radical reorganisation of the army on the basis of the mansab system. An inquiry was made and the grades of the officers were fixed in 1575 A.D. Their ranks were settled according to their merit and the extent of their commands.¹ In the new system two basic considerations weighed with Akbar were that in the first place, he wanted to keep α in his own hands alone the authority of making appointments, promotions and suspension of the mansabdars and in the second place, he wanted to

1 A.N.Vol.III. Eng. Tr. p. 166.

eliminate favouritism and make ability and merit the main criteria in the appointment of mansabdars.^{1a}

Akbar selected some excellent men to help him, appointing at the same time servants for them. For this reason he established the ranks of the mansabdars from a mansabdar of Ten (Dahbashi) to the mansabdar of Ten thousand (Dah Hazari), limiting, however, all mansabs above Five thousand to the princes of the royal blood. The number of mansabs was sixty-six, the same as the value of the letters in the name of Allah.¹ The following table shows the number of mansabs detailed by Abul Fazl.²

The table may represent Akbar's plan but the list of grantees as given by Abul Fazl himself mentions thirty-three mansabs- the three mansabs of the three princes 10,000, 8000, 7000 and thirty mansabs namely- of 5000, 4500, 4000, 3500, 3000, 2000, 1500, 1250, 1000, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500, 400, 350, 300, 250, 200, 150, 120, 100, 80, 60, 50, 40, 20, 20 and 10 . Of the last thirty mansabs, two are somewhat doubtful- the mansabs of 900 and 300 being not given in all the manuscripts of the Ain.³

1a HONOURS RANKS AND TITLES BY DR. RADHEV SHYAM P. 341 . ISLAMIC CULTURE OCT 1973.

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 248.

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 257-58. This table should be considered as minute classification of the mansabs rather than a representation of the mansabs which actually existed in the time of Akbar.

3 Ain I. Bloch. p. 249-50.

No.	Mansab	No.	Mansab	No.	Mansab	No.	Mansab
1	10,000	24	3000	46	300	64	30
2	8,000	25	2900	47	700	65	20
3	7,000	26	2800	48	600	66	10
4	5,000	27	2700	49	600		
5	4,900	28	2600	50	500		
6	4,800	29	2500	51	400		
7	4,700	30	2400	52	350		
8	4,600	31	2300	53	300		
9	4,500	32	2200	54	250		
10	4,400	33	2100	55	200		
11	4,300	34	2000	56	150		
12	4,200	35	1900	57	125		
13	4,100	36	1800	58	120		
14	4,000	37	1700	59	100		
15	3,900	38	1600	60	80		
16	3,800	39	1500	61	60		
17	3,700	40	1400	62	50		
18	3,600	41	1300	63	40		
19	3,500	42	1200				
20	3,400	43	1100				
21	3,300	44	1000				
22	3,200	45	900				
23	3,100						

De Laet mentions only 24 grades and he has omitted the grades of 1250, 900, 800, 600, 50 and 40 which are mentioned in the Ain and were in existence except the mansab of 1250.¹ Though Abul Fazl mentions in his list of grandees one mansabdar of the rank of 1250, named Rai Sal Darbari,² it is difficult to accept that this unusual grade was in existence. Abul Fazl has mentioned 24 mansabs in his list but in this exceptional case it appears that he has given mistakenly the Suwar mansab. This conclusion is based on two solid grounds. Firstly, Abul Fazl in his table in which he describes the 66 grades, the mansab of 1250 is not mentioned by him. In that table the next higher mansab after 1200 is that of 1300, which shows that no mansab of 1250 existed in Akbar's time.³ Secondly, the author of the Tabaqat mentions Rai Sal Darbari as the mansabdar of 2000,⁴ which shows that he held the 24th rank of 2000 and not of 1250 as mentioned by Abul Fazl. Furthermore, we know that in the 47th R.Y. Rai Sal was given the mansab of 2500 ~~aat~~ 1250 Suwar.⁵ It makes clear that in the 40th R.Y. Rai Sal held the mansab of 2000 24th but he had

✓ 1 De Laet, p.113.

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 462-63.

✓ 3 Ibid., pp. 257-58.

✓ 4 T.A.II. B.De, p. 671.

5 A.N. III. Tr. p. 1250.

a contingent of 1250 troopers and before the institution of the Suwar rank the mansabdars were expected to keep the contingent according to the Zat rank, the Suwar rank being newly introduced, Abul Fazl appears to have been confused in this case.

As the Ain mentions thirty three grades only in giving the names and members of the holders of mansabs, Blochmann has come to the conclusion that only 33 grades existed in actual practice. This presumption seems to be untenable, for, contrary to Nizamuddin Ahmad's assertion, Abul Fazl's list does not seem to have been complete. It was compiled in or about 1595 A.D. and could not, therefore be regarded as the final and it does not mention the appointments and promotions made during the last ten years of the reign. It shows Salim, Murad and Daniyal as mansabdars of 10,000; 8,000 and 7,000 respectively whereas in 1586 their ranks really were 12,000, 9,000, 7,000 respectively. If we include these two ranks of 12,000 and 9,000 and the one of 6,000 that Daniyal held in 1577² (which did not find a place in the aforesaid list) the number of mansabs will rise to 36 instead of 33. Above all Abul Fazl gives the number of horse, elephants, camels and carts that the

1 M.T. Vol. II, p. 342.

2 A.N. Vol. III, p. 219.

mansabdars of all the 66 grades and not merely of 33 grades, had to maintain in their service.¹ ✓ He also gives the salaries that were paid to the mansabdars of these 66 grades. It will, therefore, be unreasonable to accept Blochmann's view that under Akbar there were only 33 grades of officers. Abul Fazl's categorical statement is not likely to be untrue.² Abul Fazl mentions 1388 mansabdars from 150 to 10. The number of higher mansabdars from 200 to 5000 was 412. ✓ Thus the total number of mansabdars in the 40th R.Y. (1595-96 A.D.) was about 1800.³ It is noticable that Mirzamuddin Ahmad only mentions the mansabs of 5000, 4000, 3000, 2500, 1500 and 1000 but Abul Fazl mentions three intermediate mansabs of 4500, 3500 and 1250 but as he only gives five names of these three ranks (2 names of 4500; 2 names of 3500 and 1 of 1250) we may conclude that these mansabs were unusual.⁴ ✓ This fact further holds ground when we find that by the end of the reign (1605 A.D.) out of these five only three remained- one of 4500 and two of 3500 the other two

1 Ain Vol.I. Bloch. pp. 252-58.

2 Akbar the Great, Vol II, p. 226 by A.L. Srivastava.

3 Ain.I. Bloch. p. 249-50.

This figure must be accepted in the light of the two facts. Firstly, Abul Fazl's list of the grandees of the empire is incomplete; secondly, out of the total number of higher mansabdars (from 5000 to 200) 412 about 150 may have been dead when the list was made.

4 Ibid., p.250. ✓

✓

being promoted to higher grades.¹ It confirms that atleast after the 40th R.Y. the mensabs of 4500, 3500 and 1250 were discontinued. This also agrees with the salaries of the mansabdars, for if we omit the mansabs of 4500, 3500 and 1250 we have according to Ain 30, Book Second, twelve steps from 5000 to 500 and the monthly salary of a mansabdar of 500 which was Rs. 2500, is the twelfth part of the salary of a mansabdar of 5000 which was Rs. 30,000.² But these mansabs did existed prior to the 40th R.Y. though they were not popular.

It is however, difficult to accept the grades mentioned by Dr. Radhey Shyam. In his article, he says that Ain does not refer to the grades of 1600, 1200 and 450, perhaps they were not instituted till 1595 A.D. According to Dr. Radhey Shyam in 1605 A.D. Akbar conferred the rank of 1600 Zat and 300 Suwar on Sakat Singh and that of 1200 on Hakim Muzaffar and that of 450 on Syed Ahmad Qadi.³ Apparently he has based his statement on the English translation of Akbarnamah by Beveridge. In the translation of Akbarnamah, Beveridge

~~1 See the list of nobles given in the end of this ~~has~~ work.~~

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp.

3 'Honours, ranks and titles under the Great Mughals' by Dr. Radhey Shyam, p. 352, Islamic Culture, Oct. 1973.

mentions the above mentioned mansabs¹ and the learned historian has uncritically accepted and followed him without going deep into the matter. In the Persian text of Akbarnamah, Abul Fazl clearly mentions that Sakat Singh was given the mansab of 1000 Zat/300 Suwar, Hakim Muzaffar got the mansab of 1000 Zat/200 Suwar and Syed Ahmad Qadiri of 400 Zat/50 Suwar.² Therefore, it becomes clear that the grades of 1600, 1200 and 450 did not exist and the confusion was created because of the misinterpretation of Akbarnamah by Beveridge.³

In the 30th R.V. (1585-36 A.D.; 993 A.H.) two new mansabs were created viz., that of 12,000 and 9,000. Thus the highest limit was raised is that of 12,000 and the amirs or nobles were not given the mansabs above the rank of 5000. In 1585 A.D. Prince Sultan Salim, the eldest son of Akbar was given the mansab of 12,000; Prince Murad was given the mansab of 9000 and Prince Danyal was given the mansab of 7000.³ Thus the total number of mansabs in existence came to be thirty-five. The mansab of 12000 remained the highest limit till the end of Akbar's reign.⁴ The

1 A.N. Vol. III, Eng. Tr. (Beveridge), pp. 1252-1253.

✓ 2 Ibid., Persian Text, pp. 836-837.

3 M.T. Vol. II, Lowe, pp. 353-54; History of Jahangir, Beni Prasad (5th ed. 1962), p. 32. ✓

4 Dr. Radhey Shyam in his article wrongly mentions that in 1585 A.D. Prince Salim was raised to the rank of 13000; See the article 'Honours, ranks and titles under the Great Mughals, pp. 341, Oct. 1973, Islamic Culture. ✓

lowest mansab in the reign of Akbar was ten. It appears that the contemporary historian Badaoni was not well informed and he wrongly says that "it was settled that every amir should commence as commander of twenty (Bisti)."¹ As Badaoni himself held the mansab of 20, he might have come to the conclusion that every noble was to begin from the mansab of 20. William Irwine also holds the opinion that the lowest mansab was that of twenty.² But it is clear from the Ain that the mansab of 10 existed in Akbar's time. Abul Fazl mentions that in the 40th R.I. there were 224 persons who held the mansab of 10.³ Abul Aziz rightly says that in Akbar's time the mansabs ranged from 10 to 12000 and in later reigns the rank of 10 was scrapped.⁴

Blochmann holds that as Abul Fazl only gives names upto the mansabdars of 200 we may conclude that in Akbar's time mansabs under 200 did not entitle the holder to the title of amir. But he himself appears confused for he further says that according to Nizamuddin's Tabaqat and the Maasir-i-Rahimi, mansabdars from the hazari (mansabdar of 1000) were in Akbar's time styled Umara-i-Kibar or 'Umara-i-izam', or great amirs and he is doubtful whether the

1 M.T. Vol.II, Lowe, p. 193.

2 The Army of the Indian Mughals, Irwine, pp. 4-5.

3 Ain I, Bloch, p. 595.

4 The Mansabdari system and the Mughal army, Abdul Aziz, p. 144.

title of amir is not restricted to mansabdars from the Hazaris upwards. According to him Nizamuddin restricts his phrase ba-martaba-yi-imarat rasid or dar jarga-yi-umara muntazim gasht, to mansabdars from the hazaris upwards.¹

The fact that Abul Fazl gives the names of the mansabdars ^{upwards shows that even a mansab of 200} from 200_h was of much importance in Akbar's time but it does not mean that its holder was called an amir. Only the mansabdars of 500 and upwards were entitled to be called amirs. ✓ The statement holds true for two reasons. Firstly, Abul Fazl gives the names of mansabdars from 500 upwards who were dead or alive in the 40th R.Y. which emphasises the importance of the mansab of 500. Secondly, Nizamuddin writes that all those who had 500 horsemen were not entitled to be called amirs. This again brings out the importance of 500. He seems to explain that - mansabdar of 500 who was called an amir was not essentially a commander of 500 horsemen or retainers. Nizam's list is too incomplete and he has done favouritism. Abul Fazl who was a mansabdar of 2500 in the 40th R.Y. has been omitted by him, though he is included among the learned men of the time and Lal Khan Badakhshi who was only a mansabdar of 500 is mentioned by him as one of the great amirs.² Therefore, no conclusion can be drawn

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 250.

2 TA II B.Dc. P. 675; Ain I Bloch P 475 where he is called Lal Khan Kulahi.

from his statements. Dr. R.P. Tripathi says that mansabdars from 500 to 2500 were called amirs, over 2500 were styled amir-i-azam or great amirs.¹ Irwine says that the officers from 20 to the mansab of 400 were merely 'officers with rank or mansabdars', from 500 to the mansab of 2500 they were nobles or amirs; from 3000 to 7000 they were great nobles or amir-i-azam.²

After studying of the contemporary works, it is difficult to determine any line of demarcation between the amirs and the great amirs. It appears that various lines of distinction were drawn for various purposes. For position and precedence at the court a line of demarcation was made between the mansabdars below the mansab of 200 and upwards. The mansabdars below 200 along with ahadis and match lockmen etc. stood in the Khas-o-am courtyard, which was enclosed by a railing of painted wood, while mansabdars of 200 and above were stationed, near or far from the throne according to their position. The mansabdars of 500 and upwards were entitled to be called amirs or nobles. As regards the line of demarcation between the amirs and the great amirs, we have no evidence to form an opinion.³ Blochmann seems to

1 Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, by R.P. Tripathi, p. 231 (1966).

2 The Army of the Indian Mughals, by William Irwine, (London, 1903), p. 9.

3 The Mansabdari system and the Mughal Army, pp. 143-149.

think that when Nizamuddin speaks of Umara-i-Kibar or "the great amirs" he means probably, mansabdars of 5000.¹ But in the absence of historical evidence nothing can be said definitely.

It was not necessary that a mansabdar of high rank should be employed on a correspondingly high post in the imperial service. Rajah Man Singh enjoyed the rank of 7000 but he was never employed a minister at court. There were ministers at court who held mansabs inferior to that of Rajah Man Singh. Similarly Shaikh Abul Fazl held much smaller mansab in the beginning ^a than that of many persons in the imperial service and yet he enjoyed a higher post than those who were superior to him in rank. Thus a high rank or mansab did not necessarily signify high office in the administrative cadre. Further, the services were not classified into civil and military services. Theoretically, once a person accepted a mansab, he was considered an imperial servant, he could be assigned any work in any department without receiving any remuneration. His fat salary covered everything. As the services were not classified into civil and military, any mansabdar was liable to be called upon to discharge either duty at any time in his career. But it has to be accepted that though ~~theoratically~~

1 Ain I. Bloch, p. 597.f.n.2, p.598, f.n.1.

there was no difference between the civil and military branches, yet in practice civil and military duties were often assigned to different persons according to their experience and training in special sphere. For example, in Akbar's time the nobles like Rajah Man Singh, Rajah Bhagwant Das, Zain Khan Kokah ^{and others} etc. were generally assigned military duties and no financial or revenue duty was ever required of them. Likewise some nobles like Shwajah Shah Mansur Shirazi, Muzaffar Khan Turbati, Shaikh Abul Fazl, Rajah Todar Mal ^{and others} etc. were usually assigned financial and executive duties. Therefore, though the military and administrative cadres were not distinct, yet the criterion for appointments in either of the two was different.

An important feature of the mansabdari system was that it was not hereditary. A mansabdar enjoyed his office at the will of the emperor and the tenure of his office was not fixed. Similarly it was not essential that the son of a mansabdar of 1000, must be a hazari or mansabdar of 1000. Generally, the emperor on the death of a mansabdar, considering his services to the throne, conferred upon his son a low mansab. It depended upon the ability, devotion and perseve-
rance of the son that he may rise above his father and obtain a higher mansab than the one enjoyed by his father or he may loose everything due to his wrong habits. Further, while it was not necessary that every mansabdar be a jagirdar also, every jagirdar was always a mansabdar in the imperial

service. It was because the mansabdars received their salaries either in cash or in assignment or jagir. Those who received their salary in cash were mansabdars but not jagirdars.

In Akbar's time the highest mansab to be held by the persons not of the royal blood was that of 5000 for a long time but towards the end of the reign two persons were promoted to the mansab of 7000. Thus the highest mansab that could be held by a subject, not of the royal house was that of 7000 in Akbar's time. In the 47th R.Y. (1602-3 A.D.) Khan-i-Azam, Mirza Aziz Kokah was given the rank of 7000 Zat/ 6000 Suwar.¹ In the 50th R.Y. (1605 A.D.) Rajah Man Singh received a mansab of 7000 Zat/6000 Suwar.²

ZAT AND SUWAR MANSABS

In 1575 A.D. when the mansabdari system was introduced, the Zat mansab came into existence. Afterwards about 1594-95 A.D. (1002-3 A.H.) the Suwar mansab made its appearance. Then the mansab became dual, represented by two numbers one designated 'Zat' and the other 'Suwar'. The formal inauguration of the Suwar rank is not recorded in

1 A.N.Vol.III, Eng.Tr. p. 1211.

2 Ibid., p. 1257.

any historical work. In the account of 39th R.1. (1594-95 A.D., 1002 A.H.) Abul Fazl records that 10,000 cavalry were assigned to the Prince Rayal (Salim).¹ This is first mention of the Suwar mansab. The germs of the two ranks were present even in the sultanate period. Barani says that Balban declared if a 'malik' does not have a full contingent of 10,000, he does not deserve the title of Malik. But Barani himself says that Malik Bag Bag the governor of Badaun, had 4000 troopers. It means that while nominally Malik BagBag was a commander of 10,000, he maintained only 4000 troopers.²

A good deal of controversy has been raging about the meanings of the words 'Zat' and 'Suwar'. According to Blochmann, 'Zat' indicated the number of troops a mansabdar was expected to keep and the 'Suwar' the actual number maintained by him and that he drew his salary for the former. Thus according to him, an officer of 1000 Zat and 500 Suwar held a rank of 1000 but actually commanded only 500 horse.³ Dr. A.L. Srivastava thinks that Blochmann's interpretation seems to approximate to the actual state of affairs as it existed after the institution of the Suwar rank.⁴ But Dr. B.P.

1 A.N.Vol.III. Eng. Tr. p. 998.

2 Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi of Barani, ed. Prof. S.A. Rashid 1, p. 48 cf. Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, Athar Ali, p.39.

3 Ain I. Bloch, pp. 249-50.

4 'Akbar the Great' by A.L.Srivastava, Vol I, pp. 200-1.

Saksena rejects Blochmann's view for two reasons. First, it defeats the very object of the institution of the Suwar rank; and secondly there were certain officers who held Zat rank only and if we accept Blochmann's view they would have to maintain more men than those who held both the Zat and the Suwar rank and thus lower their status.¹ William Irwine ✓ thinks that the grant of the Suwar rank in addition to Zat rank was an honour and indicated the actual number of horsemen over and above those of the Zat. He disagrees with Dr. Paul Horn who supposes that the horsemen indicated by the Suwar rank were paid out of the Zat allowances. In that case a man who had no Suwar would be better paid than another who was honoured with the addition of Suwar to his Zat rank.² Dr. B.P. Saksena holds that Irwine's view is untenable for three reasons. First, if we accept it the total number of the Mughal troops would mount to an incredible figure, secondly, if the nonoured officer was expected to maintain an extra number, the honour would be more a source of burden to him than real distinction, and thirdly, in some cases the total number of horsemen maintained by a mansabdar would be greater than that of a prince which is in-credible.³ Dr. B.P. Saksena agrees with Dr. R.P. Tripathi's opinion and holds the opinion

1 History of Shahjahan by Dr. B.P. Saksena, p. 285.

2 The Army of the Indian Mughals, Irwine, p.9.

3 History of Shahjahan of Delhi, by Dr. B.P. Saksena, p.285.

that the purpose of the Suwar rank was to confer an additional distinction on an officer without increasing the number of troops under him when an officer ~~nikhant~~ obtained this distinction his original rank was known as the Zat and the additional as the Suwar.¹

Dr. R.P. Tripathi after discussing the question thoroughly comes to the conclusion that the 'Suwar' rank was an honour for which an officer was paid an extra allowance without maintaining the number of horsemen indicated by it. Instead of supposing that the Suwar figures had any actual existence in horsemen, we might take it that it indicated the rate of allowance which was given to officers honoured with this additional distinction. In other words the Suwar rank had nothing to do with the actual number which was regulated by the Zat only. The allowance paid to an officer was over and above his ordinary salary and the scale of allowance was at the rate of Rs. 2/- per Suwar. Thus 500 Suwar would mean an allowance of Rs. 1000/- per mensem, nothing more or less. According to him the Zat indicated the rank for which an officer received his normal salary and Suwar means an extra allowance.²

1 History of Shahjahan of Delhi, by Dr. B.P. Saksena, pp. 284-86.

2 The army Organisation of Akbar by R.P. Tripathi, Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol.V, Jan. 1923, pp. 56-65; Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire by R.P. Tripathi, pp. 231-32.

Dr. Tripathi's view can hardly be accepted. The theory he has formulated hangs on two slender pieces of evidence. The first is an extract from the third Ain of Book II. The passage that he quotes has been thus translated by Blochmann, "Fuzbashis (commanders of one hundred) are of eleven classes. The first class contains such as furnish one hundred troopers. Their monthly salary is 700 Rupees. The eleventh class contains such as have no troops of their ^{own} ~~own~~, in accordance with the statement made above, that Dakhli troops are now a days preferred. This class gets 500 Rupees. The nine intermediate classes have monthly allowances ~~de~~creasing from 700 Rupees by 20 rupees for every ten troopers which they furnish less."¹ This according to Dr. Tripathi gives a scale of Rs. 2 per additional horse or Suwar and it was in this manner that all the mansabdars with Suwars were paid. How hollow are the foundations of this theory can be seen if we exactly interpret the above passage which means nothing more and nothing less than that a 100 Zat 100 Suwar or a first class commander of 100 Zat got Rs. 700, a 100 Zat and 50 Suwar got Rs. 600 and a 100 Zat without any Suwar got Rs. 500 as his Zat salary. This view is borne out by the figures given in the Ain.² The only difference to be noted in this case

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 248.

2 Ibid., pp. 257-58.

is that instead of the three ranks to be found in other grades, we have eleven in this case.

If we take Rs. 700 as the Zat pay of the first class officer of 100, his net salary should be 900 Rs. and not Rs. 700 as given in the table. If, however, it be argued that the first class officer received Rs. 200 more than his friend of the third class on account of the honour of 100 Suwars at the rate of Rs. 2 per Suwar. We are undoubtedly led to believe that difference in the Zat pay of the commanders of the same mansab but of different classes was due to their receiving or not receiving extra pay for their nominal Suwar rank. That the view is wholly untenable can be shown by means of the following examples from the Ain.

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Salary</u>
4500	I	26,000 Rs.
4500	II	25,800 "
4500	III	25,700 "

The difference between the Zat salary of the first and third class officers is obviously Rs. 300 only. But the difference in their nominal Suwar rank cannot at any time be less than 2251, and might at others go upto 4500. Thus the difference in their pay ought to have been at least Rs. 4,502 and might have gone upto Rs. 9000 at the rate of Rs. 2 per

Suwar. Further the fact that the Zat pay of all the commanders of the second class was in spite of the difference in the number of Suwars always the same would go hard against any such view. A theory, therefore, that explains only one case out of sixty-six and leaves the rest unexplained can hardly be called true explanation of facts.¹

Having disposed of Dr. Tripathi's first piece of evidence, we can now take up the second one that he gives from the account left by Hawkins. "The custom is" wrote Hawkins, "they are allowed so much living to maintain the post, which the king hath given them, that is they are allowed twenty rupias by the month, and two rupees for every horse fame, for the maintenance of their stable. As thus, a captain of 5000 horse that hath 5000 horse to maintain in the wars, hath likewise of fame other 5000 horse... allowed upon every horse by the month two rupias and this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed."² According to Dr. Tripathi the words 'of fame' that occur in this passage refer to the Suwar rank for which the officer received an allowance at the rate of Rs. 2/- per ~~suwar~~ Suwar per mensem.

1 See the article 'Akbar's Cavalry, The Zat and Suwar Ranks' by Dashrath Sharma, pp. 361-63; Journal of Indian History, Vol.V, 1926-27.

2 Purchass his Pilgrims, Vol.III, pp. 44-45.

That this interpretation by Dr. Tripatali is wrong will be clear from a reference to the passage where the words 'of fame' have been explained by Hawkins. He writes, "they that be of the fame of 12,000 horsemen belong to the king and his mother, and eldest son... Dukes be nine thousand fame, naqqesses five thousand fame... All they that have these number of horsemen are called mansabdars or men of livings or lordships".¹ In the next thirteen or fourteen lines he gives the names of the mansabdars and their ranks and ends the passage by saying, "the rest be from 2000 downwards till you come to twenty horses, two thousand, nine hundred and fifty." If we take into consideration one or two points, it will be obvious that in the above passage Hawkins does not refer to the Suvars of Dr. Wripathi's theory. There was, in the first instance, absolutely no rule confining the number of Suvars to be given to mansabdars to twenty men. According to the Ain a Disti or commander of 20 could have ten Suvars or sometimes have no Suvars at all. Further it would be really quite strange that a man should classify commanders not according to the number of men they kept but mere honour which had absolutely no existence in real horsemen. Moreover in the above passage the rank of Prince Khurram is put down at 9000. This cannot be his

1 Foster, Early Travels, pp. 98-99. ✓

Suwar rank for we are certain that the number of his Suwars before 1615 was not above 6000¹ and Hawkins left India in 1613. Both the grounds on which Dr. Tripathi relies, thus fail to support his view.

That the view of Dr. Tripathi does not rest on any sound basis can further be proved by quoting the examples from Padshahnamah. The ~~xxxixak~~ annual salary of Dara, a mansabdar of 20,000 Zat, 20,000 Suwar, 10,000 Duaspah, Siaspah was ten million rupees. That the mansabdar under Shahjahan neither kept the number of men indicated by the Zat rank, nor were paid for that number is a well established fact.² It would therefore be reasonable to suppose that Dara was expected to keep about 10,000 men and was paid for that number from the royal treasury. The total of the pays of the soldiers the Zat salary of the prince and the sum given at the rate of Rs. 2 per Suwar per mansam does not reach above three millions per annum and thus Dara is left a surplus of about seven million rupees which can hardly be explained by the theory of Dr. Tripathi.³ ✓

Dashrath Sharma after a long discussion comes to the conclusion that both the ranks Suwar as well as Zat were actual. In Akbar's reign mansabdars seem to have been expected

1 Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p.193. ✓

2 Bernier's Travels, p. 212, Oxford edn. ✓

3 Padshahnamah, Vol.II, p. 715. ✓

to keep- whether they keep or not is a different question- as many horsemen as were indicated by their Zat rank and were paid for these from the imperial and local treasuries. Suwars were additional soldiers given to mansabdars specially favoured by the emperor and were a sort of honour . From the Zat salary the mansabdars maintained his household and kept the specified establishment. Higher mansabdars must have maintained a number of horsemen for the horses assigned to them.¹

Rao Sahib holds the opinion that the Zat mansab may have represented cavalry in Akbar and Jahangir's time. If both Zat and Suwar had represented cavalry forces in Akbar's time, it is reasonable to expect that mansabdar would keep some horsemen under Zat rank and some under Suwar. But the accounts of two European travellers in Jahangir's reign finally dispose of the theory of double force. He says that when Hawkins speaks of " a captain that hath 5000 horse to maintain in wars, hath likewise of fame other 5000 which he is not to maintain in wars but only for his table allowed upon every horse and the other five thousand twenty rupias by the month " it means in the

1 See Dashrath Sharma's article 'Akbar's cavalry the Zat and Suwar ranks, pp. 359-66, Journal of Indian History, Vol.V, 1926-27.

official language a mansabdar of 5000 Zat 5000 Suwar had to maintain only 5000. Had Zat and Suwar represented two cavalry forces a captain would have been required to maintain 10,000 horses. So one of them is honorary. Lawkins meant Zat when he talked of horse fame. Rao Sahib finally comes to the conclusion that Suwar represented the actual cavalry which the mansabdar commanded and it did not mean a money allowance. Zat certainly did not represent cavalry forces under a mansabdar. He concludes that the Suwar represented the cavalry a mansabdar was expected to maintain and the Zat represented infantry.¹

Shri Paresch Nath Mukerjee says that the Zat was the civilian distinction for which an allowance was paid and which indicated the 'civilian caste' of the mansabdars. It seems that Suwar was the military rank of the mansabdars which indicated the actual number as well as the basis for which they drew their actual salary. Most of the civilian posts were in charge of the mansabdars who were military officers. Since they had to do two functions they must receive ~~tax~~ and allowance for both, otherwise they were bound to neglect one of the functions. Now so Suwar clearly means 'a rider' that it must indicate the military rank. Zat means 'caste'

1. See the article 'A note on the Mughal military terms' by Rao Sahib, pp. 205-221, Journal of Indian History 1935; Moreland has refuted the view that the Zat represented the infantry contingent. See the article 'Rank (Mansab) in the Mughal State Service' by W.H. Moreland, pp. 645-66, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1936.

or 'kind'. Now this must refer to civilian caste of the mansabdars. For this they drew an extra allowance; when they drew their actual salary for the Suwar rank which also indicated the actual number of soldiers maintained by them. The Suwar was their military rank whereas the Zat was their civilian rank.¹

Abdul Aziz discusses the question at length and concludes that the mansab is called Zat i.e. 'self' because it regulated the allowance for himself (and his household) as distinguished from that for the cavalry enlisted by him. He says that 500 Zat with no Suwar rank means that the holder draws a certain salary and has to maintain some animals of transport. The figure 500 is, therefore no better than a formula by which the salary and the obligations of the mansabdar could be definitely ascertained from the schedule. He thinks that the Zat rank without any Suwar was exceedingly rare. Usually an officer with a personal rank (Zat) had also a horse rank (Suwar). The Zat mansabdar had to maintain an establishment of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts for which the mansabdar received a fixed salary but no horsemen or cavalry. But such officers were so rare that their number

1 See the article 'Some light on the Mansabdari System of the Mughals', by Shri Paresn Nath Mukerji, Indian History Congress, 17th Session, Ahmedabad, 1954, pp. 298-99.

was almost negligible. The mansabdar who received the Suwar rank, had to maintain some horsemen to fight for the emperor. Thus the Suwar rank represented the actual number of cavalry under a mansabdar. A mansabdar of 1000 Zat 500 Suwar enjoyed the high sounding title of Hazari but he had to maintain only a contingent of 500 horsemen. Thus while the high title flattered the ^w vanity of the mansabdar, the small contingent required lightened his burden. To prevent the mansab from becoming a purely honorary affair and a simple sinecure, an^w establishment of transport was attached to it as an obligation against a fixed salary. After making these concessions Akbar felt himself justified in insisting on the number of horsemen each holder of Suwar rank was required to maintain.¹ Abdul Aziz's view is quite right but it only answers the position as it was after the emergence of the Suwar rank in 1594-95 A.D. In order to understand the working of mansabdari system

1 Abdul Aziz's 'The Mansabdari system and the Mughal Army', pp. 11-12, 37-38; also see his article in the Journal of Indian History for August 1930, pp. 138-163. Mr. Moreland also agrees with the opinion expressed by Abdul Aziz and says "I do not propose to review the arguments advanced by Mr. Abdul Aziz; taking them as a whole, they seem to me to come very near to actual proof, or at the least, make this view definitely more probable than that offered by Irwine." See the article 'Rank(Mansab) in the Mughal State Service by W.H. Moreland, pp. 644-45, J.R.A.S., 1936.

under Akbar we should examine the statements of the contemporary writers.

In the account of 11th R.Y. (1566 A.D.; 973 A.H.) Abul Fazl writes that the revenues entered in the state registers since the time of Bairam Khan were largely in excess of the real ones and on account of the plurality of men and the paucity (qillat, of territory, a nominal increase had been made for the sake of appearance. All these papers had remained in the public offices and been regarded as authentic and had become the tools of embezzlement for the slaves of gold. The whole jagir system and the recruitment of the army which was intimately connected with it were correspondingly chaotic. According to the imperial orders Qanungoes and others who were acquainted with the whole of the territories of the empire fixes according to their own estimates the actual produce of the countries (provinces) and established a new assessment. Though it was not a regular estimate (hal-i-hasil), yet in comparison with the former one it might be so called.¹ He further says that "as the branding department had not then emerged into being, at this time the number of attendants for all the

1 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 402-3. Abul Fazl seems to say that the new assessment was not based on actual produce but when compared with the first assessment, it was better.

officers and servants of the threshold was fixed, so that ever, one should keep some persons in readiness for service. There were three classes of the ordinary soldiers assigned to the officers. The first class had 48,000 dams a year, the second 32,000 and the third 24000."¹

Moreland holds that Akbar introduced the double rank in the 11th A.D. (1566 A.D.) and thus he implicitly accepts the existence of the Zat rank earlier to this. According to him the addition of the double rank was necessiated because of the fact that the officers did not keep their contingents upto the required number. Thus the previous number of contingents required to be kept by an officer was transformed into his personal rank and a second rank i.e. Suwar rank was super imposed on the single rank. His old high rank was not abolished but on the introduction of the proper rank, it ceased to signify command and became merely personal.²

The implicit surmise of Moreland that the single rank or Zat rank existed previous to the introduction of Suwar,

1 A.H. Vol.II.Eng. Tr. p. 403. Beveridge remarks (p.403, f.n.1) that the account of the substitute for the branding regulation has no connection with the new revenue assessment mentioned above but Abul ~~Raiz~~ says that both the passages are co-related, he, however, agrees with Beveridge in saying that the salaries fixed here are not easy to understand and these are in no way the salaries of the soldiers. See Abdul Aziz's Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army, pp. 39-40.

2 See the article, 'Rank (mansab) in the Mughal State Service' by W.H. Moreland, J.R.A.S., 1936, pp. 643, 650-51.

rank in 1566 A.D. cannot be accepted. Moreland's view which is purely based on inference that the Suwar rank was introduced in the 11th A.Y. holds no ground, once it is made clear that the Suwar rank was not introduced in the 11th A.Y. (1566 A.D.). Moreland has based his view on the statement of Abul Fazl referring to the 11th A.Y. which is quoted above that "As the branding department had not then emerged into being, at this time the number of attendants for all the officers and servants of the threshold was fixed so that everyone should keep some persons in readiness for service."¹ It is strange that Moreland overlooked the rest of the statement that "there were three classes of the ordinary soldier assigned to the officers, the first class had 48000 dams a year, the second 32,000 and the third, 24,000". Immediately preceding the statement we find brief references to the reforms directed towards the revenue assessment carried by Muzaffar Khan. If the figures mentioned above do not indicate the salaries of the soldiers then in the context,² it can be suggested probably the figures refer to the annual revenues of three kinds of jagirs and it is possible to suggest further that the holders of the three kinds of jagirs yielding different revenues were asked

1 'Rank(mansab) in the Mughal State Service' by W.H. Moreland, J.R.A.S., 1936, p. 650. AN vol II p. 270

2. The officers were divided into three classes. The first class officers got a salary of 48000 dams a year, the second class 32000 dams and the third class 24000 dams. These sums included salaries of the troops under the officers. As there was no branding yet, hence no steps were taken to see that the officers kept in their employment the number of troops fixed by the Govt. AKBAR THE GREAT VOL. I P. 105

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to maintain a fixed quota of troopers commensurate ^{with} to the assessment of their jagirs. When we study the two paragraphs of Abul Fazl mentioned above jointly, it becomes clear that with the more correct assessment and realisation of revenues a more precise allocation of jagirs became possible and when the position and resources of a jagirdar became more defined the government could insist on the jagirdar to maintain a definite number of cavalry which had earlier been impossible. So there is no justification for the inferences drawn by Moreland. Neither the Zat nor the Suwar mansab was introduced in the 11th R.Y. A Jan Qaisar agrees with the opinion that Moreland wrongly says that the double rank was introduced in the 11th R.Y. but he is of the opinion that the double rank was introduced in the 20th R.Y. which is, however, not correct, for in that year only the mansab-i-Zat was introduced.¹

Therefore, Akbar promulgated the branding regulation, the conversion of the imperial territories into ^{resumed} crown lands and fixing the grades of the officers of the state in 1573 A.D. But the enforcement of these regulations depended upon the steadiness, the services, the loyalty, disinterestedness and energy of the officers.² ✓ Rajah Todar Mal, we are told

1 See the article 'A note on the date of the institution of Mansab under Akbar' by A. Jan Qaisar, Indian History Congress, 24th Session, Delhi, 1961, pp. 155-157.

2 A.N. Vol.III, Eng. Tr. pp. 95.

appreciated the idea but Munim Khan and Muzaffar Khan appeared hostile to these regulations. Nevertheless these regulations which were promulgated in 1573 A.D. before the war in Bihar, remained on paper and could not be enforced till 1575 A.D.¹

In the end of the account of 19th R.Y. (1575 A.D.) Abul Fazl says that when the emperor was 'behind the veil of inattention', avarice and faithlessness was common among the masters and servants. The master did not tell his servant what he received from the court and the servant followed the road of disloyalty and acted as if he was his own master.² Abul Fazl further says that an inquiry was made then and the grades of the officers were settled.³ A Jan Qaisar holds the opinion that the fixing of grades means the fixing of the mansabs and refers to the two ranks i.e. the Zat and the Suwar and thus the two ranks were simultaneously introduced in the 20th R.Y. (1573-74 A.D.).⁴ The first part of his statement is correct but it is difficult to agree with him in the latter part. Lastly, Abul Fazl tells us that on this occasion the imperial territories were made ~~crown~~ ^{revenue} lands.

1 A.N.III. Eng. Tr. p. 95.

2 Ibid., p. 165.

3 Ibid., p. 166.

4 'A Note on the date of the institution of mansab under Akbar' by A. Jan Qaiser, I.H.C. 24th session, Delhi, 1961, p. 157. The year should be 19th R.Y. (1574-75 A.D.).

After a close study of the accounts of Abul Fazl and Badaoni, some conclusions can be made. Firstly, in 1575 A.D. the mansabdari system was introduced and the grades of the officers or mansabdars were fixed. Secondly, in 1575 A.D. only the Zat mansab made its appearance. According to this Zat mansab, a mansabdar's position in the official heirarchy and the society was determined. He was also expected to keep the number of horsemen represented by the Zat mansab. Thus a Zat mansabdar of 500 was expected to keep 500 horsemen. Thirdly, the mansabdar was not only required to maintain a contingent of troopers represented by his Zat mansab but also had to maintain elephants, horses and cammels in proportion to his Zat mansab.

From 1575 A.D. to 1595 A.D., for nearly about twenty years only the Zat mansab existed and it represented the number of horsemen the mansabdar was expected to keep. Now we are to study the working of the mansabdari system in this period. ✓

In the account of 20th R.Y. (1575-76 A.D.), Abul Fazl says that Mirza Aziz Kokan was called from Gujerat so that the business of branding might be begun with the leaders.¹

1 A.N.Vo.III.Eng.Tr. p. 208. Abul Fazl says that another reason for calling him post haste to court was that Mirza Sulaiman was preparing to come to court and it was desired that he should be present at entertainments.

After his arrival at court Mirza Aziz used improper language about the affair of the branding and showed no readiness for mustering of troops, therefore, the emperor degraded him from the position of an Amir or noble, excluded him from his society and assigned him a place in his own garden(i.e. Mirza Koka's). It means that the emperor kept him under Surveillance.¹

In this way we find that the nobles and the other officers whose own interests were vitally affected by the branding regulation were opposed to it but Akbar was determined to carry on this uphill task against such heavy odds. He did not abstain from punishing men like Mirza Aziz Kokah who was his ~~father~~-brother and sent the other recalcitrant ones to Bengal where the jagir system was in force.

In the account of 39th R.Y. (1002 A.H., 1594-95 A.D.) Abul Fazl writes that Prince Sultan Salim was assigned 10,000 cavalry. It should be remembered that the Prince already held the Zat mansab of 12000. At this time he was given the Suwar mansab of 10,000. Five Thousand of them received jagirs in Bengal; ~~Four thousand received jagirs in Bengal~~; Four thousand received jagirs near Lahore the capital

1 A.N.III. Eng. Tr. p. 209.

and one thousand anadis were appointed who received pay monthly from the imperial treasury.¹

In the account of 40th R.Y. (1003 A.D., 1595-96 A.D.) Abul Fazl writes, 'in this year the officers (mansabdars) were divided into three classes: 1st, those who had horsemen equal in number to their office; 2nd those who had half and upwards; 3rd those who had less. The pay of each was fixed.'²

In the account of 41st R.Y. (1596-97 A.D.) Abul Fazl clearly mentions that a grant of land (tankhwan) was made to Mirza Shahrukh on the scale of 5000 Zat and half that number (i.e. 2500) of troopers (Suwar).³ In the account of 42nd R.Y. (1597-98 A.D.), it is clearly mentioned by Abul Fazl that Prince Sultan Daniyal received the rank of hafthazari (7000), both Zat and Suwar, or in other words that of 7000 Zat & 0 Suwar or 7000 Zat/7000 Suwar.⁴

We get a complete picture of mansabdari system in the Ain-i-Akbari as it stood in the 40th R.Y. (1003-4 A.D.; 1595-96 A.D.). In Book II Ain I, Abul Fazl says that some

1 A.N.Vol.III. Eng. Tr. pp. 998-99.

2 Ibid., p. 1031.

3 Ibid., p. 1069.

4 Ibid., p. 1077.

commanders, who find it trouble some to furnish men, get a number of such soldiers, as accept the imperial brand. Such troops are called Dakhilis.¹ Here he seems to refer to the commanders of one hundred who were divided into 11 class and the last class was without Suwars. In Book II, Ain I, he says that in the contingent of a commander (mansabdar) of Ten thousand, other mansabdars as high as Hazaris (commanders of One thousand) serve; in the contingent of a commander of Eight thousand, Mansabdars upto Hashtsadis (commanders of Eight Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a commander of Seven thousand, mansabdars upto Haftsadis (commanders of Seven Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a commander of Five thousand, other mansabdars as high as Pansadi (commanders of Five Hundred) serve; and in the contingent of Pansadi, Mansabdars as high as Sadis (commanders of One Hundred) serve. Mansabdars of lower ranks do not serve in the contingent of high mansabdars.² In Book II, Ain 3, Abul Fazi remarks, "The monthly grants made to the mansabdars vary according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent comes upto the mansab, is put into the first class of his rank; if his contingent is one half and upwards of the fixed number, he is put into the second class; the third class contains those contingents which are still less".³ In Book II, Ain 5,

1 Ain I. Bloch, p. 241.

2 Ibid., pp. 241-42.

3 Ibid., p. 248.

Abul Fazl writes, "Every Dahbashi had to muster 2 chahar aspah, 3 siaspah, 3 duaspah and 2 yakaspah (i.e. 10 troopers with 25 horses) and the other mansabdars in the same proportion. But now a Dahbashi's contingent consists of 3 siaspah, 4 duaspah and 3 yakaspah troopers (i.e. 10 troopers with 20 horses,"¹

Now it is possible after the study of contemporary works to infer certain conclusions. In the period between 1575-95 A.D. only the Zat mansab existed and the mansabdar was expected to maintain a contingent of troopers, indicated by the Zat rank- whether he kept or not is a different matter. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that the lists of the Ain and the Tabaqat mention only the Zat mansab. The Tabaqat list of nobles gives the Zat mansab but the author describes some of them as if they are Suwar mansabs. It appears that though Nizamuddin mostly describes the Zat mansabs of the mansabdars, but when a person actually commanded the troopers indicated by his Zat rank, he found no difference between the Zat rank and the contingent maintained by him and described him as a commander of that

1. Ain I. Bloch. p. 261. Blochmann wrongly says 10 troopers with 18 horses. He gives the correct figures but there is a mistake in the total. Previously on page 253 he says that a dahbashi furnished 10 men with 18 horses (it should be 20 horses). As the other ranks furnish in proportion, one of Akbar's hazaris would have had to bring 1800 horses (it should be 2000 horses) whilst a hazari under Shahjahan only furnished 650 horses.

rank. For example if a mansabdar of 700 Zat, actually commanded 700 troopers, he inadvertantly describes him as a commander of 700 which in fact shows his Zat mansab. Even when a mansabdar did not actually command the contingent indicated by his Zat rank, Nizamuddin appears to have mentioned him as a commander of that rank. That is to say a mansabdar of 500 (Zat) is sometimes mentioned by him as a commander of 500 it was so because he was expected to command 500. There is no doubt that the lists of the Ain and the Tabakat refer only to the Zat mansab and Nizamuddin too only mentions the Zat mansab though from his style of writing it appears as if it was Suwar mansab but actually it is the Zat mansab. The lists of the Tabakat and the Ain were compiled in 1001-2 A.H. and 1003-4 A.H. respectively and must refer to the years preceding these dates. The Suwar mansab made its appearance about 1003 A.H.¹ Here it would be worthwhile to make it clear that a mansabdar of 500 should not be called a commander of 500 because it did not necessarily indicate the number of troops commanded by the mansabdar. Blochmann wrongly translates dahnazari etc. as the commander of 10,000 etc.² As Abul Fazl's list of the grandees

1 The Mansabdari system of the Mughal army, by Abdull-Aziz, p.73.

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 257-58. It is only an oversight since we know that Blochmann fully understood the distinction between the Zat and Suwar rank and himself says that "a commander of 5000 was not necessarily at the head of a contingent of 5000 men." (See Ain I. Bloch, p. 251 and p.596).

of the empire purports to give only the Zat mansab, it is difficult to know the actual strength of the army. Abul Fazl only gives the Zat mansab of the mansabdars which only indicate the number of caval~~ry~~ymen, a mansabdar was expected to maintain and not the actual commands which would have shown the strength of the contingents. Further, the low mansabdars had to serve under the higher mansabdars.¹ Dr. Paul Horn wrongly assumes that the Zat rank which alone is given in Abul Fazl's list, is not only the same as Suwar rank but represents the number of horsemen actually entertained by the officer.²

In the period between 1575-95 A.D. only the Zat mansab existed but it led to several complications and confusions and the ultimate loss came upon the state. It appears that only few mansabdars kept the full contingent indicated by their Zat rank. Nizamuddin says that Rajah Todar Mal and Qutbuddin Mohammad Khan, as if it was something worth mentioning, that the former had 4000 cavalry and the latter 5000 nawkars or servants, i.e. soldiers, though Todarmal was a mansabdar of ~~4000~~ 5000 (according to Nizamuddin) and Qutbuddin Khan a mansabdar of 5000. About

1 See also Blochmann's note on p. 596 of the Ain I, where he says that Abul Fazl has merely given the Zat rank. This will partly account for the discrepancies in rank between his list and that by Nizamuddin in the Tabaqat.

2 Dr. Paul Horn's Das Heer and Kriegswesen der gross Moghuls, Leiden, 1894. ✓

Abdul Hajid Asar Khan, Wizamuddin says that he reached a point when he had 20,000^{retainers}, though according to Abul Fazl, he was a mansabdar of 3000.¹ But these cases are exceptions, in fact the number of cavalymen maintained by a mansabdar rarely even approach the number indicated by his Zat mansab. Generally, the mansabdars never maintained the cavalry indicated by his Zat mansab and we often hear a great deal of the mansabdar's inability to bring to the field the cavalry corresponding to his rank.² At first Akbar relied upon the preparation of Descriptive Roll system and to make the issue of pay dependent upon the inspection of these rolls, but the dishonest practices were not thereby eliminated and Abul Fazl tells us that 'Horse-borrowing was then the order of the day.'³ After about seven years Akbar made the branding of the horses compulsory in addition to the Descriptive Roll system.⁴ Though Abul Fazl remarks that after the introduction of the branding system, "the army resembled a newly irrigated garden",⁵ it is clear from the description of Badaoni that the ill-practices continued.⁶ When a mansabdar of 500 Zat, who was expected

1 Ain I. Bloch, p. 251. TA II B.D. P. 658 ✓

2 The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army, Abdul Aziz, p.90.

3 Ain I, Bloch, p. 242. ✓

4 Ibid., p. 242 and pp. 265-66.

5 Ibid., pp. 242-43.

6. M.T.II, Lowe, pp. 193-194.

to keep 500 troopers, only maintained 200 troopers or still less, three harmful results ensued. Firstly, it reduced the strength of the army and Akbar could not fully rely on the contingents of the mansabdars; Secondly, the mansabdar who did not keep his full contingent received the same salary which his brother mansabdar of the same rank received who ~~samexsakarxxwhicxxhix~~ kept full contingent. For example if a mansabdar of 500 who kept 500 troopers and 1000 horses received Rs. 2500 a month against his Zat rank salary, his brother mansabdar of 500 also received Rs. 2500 while he only kept 200 troopers or even less and pocketed the rest of the amount. Thus a person who was loyal and better served the state was in a disadvantageous position and it was a financial loss to the state. Thirdly, the mansabdar who did not keep full contingent, enjoyed the same prestige and honour in the official hierarchy which his brother mansabdar of the same rank who maintained full contingent enjoyed. It left no incentive to maintain full contingent. Those mansabdars who maintained full contingents must have nourished a grudge against these injustices. The Zat mansab gradually became a fictitious figure and the relationship between the Zat mansab and the number of men in command ceased to exist. Akbar could not tolerate such irregularities and it was to cope with this situation that he was forced to create another mansab known as Suwar about 1594-95 A.D.

Dr. A.L. Srivastava rightly says that for several years after the establishment of the mansabdari system, mansabdars of various ranks failed to maintain and bring to muster the number of cavalry fixed for their several ranks. Moreover, the lumping together of horses, horsemen (cavalry), elephants, camels and oxen in each rank caused confusion. It was probably to put an end to this confusion and to secure an absolute compliance of the number of horsemen fixed for each rank that Akbar instituted the Suwar rank as distinct from the Zat rank. He, however, says that thereafter the Zat rank indicated the number of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts required to be maintained but not horsemen or cavalry, which is not correct. The mansabdar was under obligation to maintain a fixed quota of transport according to the Zat rank but it does not mean that the Zat figures represented the beasts of burden to be maintained. He is right in holding that the Suwar rank on the other hand indicated the actual number of horsemen to be maintained by a mansabdar in Akbar's time. Further he is of the view that the Zat rank was not the personal rank.¹ Before the appearance of the Suwar mansab, the Zat rank was certainly not the personal rank of the mansabdar as it also determined the contingent of troops to be maintained by him but after the emergence of the Suwar rank in 1595-95 A.D. the Zat

1 Akbar the Great, Vol.I, pp. 221-224 by A.L. Srivastava.

mansab became the personal rank of the individual. Abdul Aziz rightly says that the Zat rank could not be called brevet rank, as Blochmann by mistake calls (Bloch I, p. 258); since ~~the~~ Zat rank although it carries no command with it, carries a fixed salary while the brevet rank usually carries neither.¹

The motives leading to these innovations are not far to seek and can best be studied from the political situation in that year. Akbar, though the master of Northern India was not satisfied with what he had secured ^{and} wanted to conquer the Deccan states whose very presence as independent powers was an offence to him. He desired to drive out the Portuguese from India and guard the frontiers against the Persians from whom Qandahar had just been captured. Salim was a further element of danger. Akbar, therefore, felt the need of a greater army and introduced the additional Suwar mansab to the original Zat mansab which was a wise measure.² It increased the strength of the army under the old mansabdar~~s~~ without increasing their mansabs. Now a mansabdar of 500 Zat 200 Suwar was expected to keep only 200 troopers, and

1 Abdul Aziz, p. 11.

2 See Dashrath Sharma's article-Akbar's cavalry the Zat and Suwar ranks, Journal of Indian History, pp. 365-66. Dashrath Sharma holds the view that the addition of the Suwar rank settled satisfactorily the question of rank and dignity, ~~were~~ only mansabdar~~s~~ of 5000 Zat at the time. It was in the 50th and 47th R.A. respectively, that is to say after 1602 A.D. that both of them were raised to 7000 Zat, 6000 Suwar and if both the numbers are united, Prince Salim's number exceeds which comes to 22000.

received separate pay for 200 troopers. The nominal rank was confined to the Zat rank and the Suwar rank was instituted to see that there was a proper check on maintenance of contingents according to the salary or income granted to each noble. Thus the Suwar rank indicated the actual number of horsemen kept by a mansabdar. The figure of the Zat menasab became a formula to determine the hierarchical position of the various mansabdars and the Suwar rank showed the contingent a mansabdar was expected to maintain.

Above the mansab of 5000, there was no classification and all the officers above 5000 Zat were considered to be class I officers. But Akbar introduced three grades in each of the mansabs from 5000 downwards to the mansab of 10 which was known as the Suwar mansab.¹ When in the last decade of Akbar's reign two officers were promoted to the mansab of 7000 Zat 6000 Suwar, it appears the classification became applicable to the mansab of 7000 Zat too. These two officers belonged to the class II of the mansab of 7000. It appears to be intentionally done by Akbar. As Prince Sultan Daniyal held the mansab of 7000 Zat 7000 Suwar, the emperor in order to place these two officers below the prince, conferred upon them the mansab of 7000 Zat 6000 Suwar.

1 Ain I Bloch, pp. 257-58; The Mughal Empire by A.L. Srivastava, p.198.

No noble under Akbar rose to the mansab of 7000 Zat 7000 Suwar. Prince Sultan Daniyal belonged to class I of the mansab of 7000 and therefore, his position remained higher than the nobility.

Abul Aziz rightly says that if we reckon the number of men in the Suwar rank, we might obtain a safer estimate of the probable strength of the army.¹ However, as it was enforced in the last decade, it is difficult to form an idea about Akbar's reign. After making these concessions, Akbar insisted upon the mansabdars to maintain full contingent as desired by their Suwar mansab. The strict enforcement of the dagh ensured a conformity between the Suwar mansab and the actual quota of troops maintained by the mansabdars under Akbar.² Therefore, in Akbar's time the Suwar rank depicted the actual number of troops maintained by the mansabdars. But under his successors, the creation of

1 The Mansabdari system and the Mughal Army, Abdul Aziz, p.7. ✓

2 Moreland rightly says that officers with high titles seldom maintained contingents corresponding to their titles and Akbar's dual ranks were designated to meet this situation and the second or trooper rank denoted the number which each officer should keep ready. His old high rank was not abolished but on the introduction of trooper rank (Suwar), it ceased to signify command and became merely personal. It is reasonable to infer from this time on the contingents were kept at or near their nominal strength, so long as these rules were enforced or in other words, so long Akbar was there to insist on their enforcement. But Moreland assigns this situation of the period 1566 A.D. which should be 1595 A.D. See ✓ Rank (mansab) in the Mughal State Service J.R.A.S. 1936, pp. 641-45. Blochmann thinks that the repeated musters which Akbar held, both of men and of animals, carts, etc. the minuteness of some of the regulations recorded in

some new military distinctions created a wide breach between the theory and practice and even the Suwar mansab became a fictitious figure and did not represent the actual quota of troops maintained by the mansabdar.¹ Thus Akbar's peculiar contribution was the achievement of a synthesis between military command and heirarchical rank with the establishment of a dual mansab-Zat and Suwar.² During the period 1010-14 A.H., 1602-5 A.D. 37 bestowals of Zat and Suwar rank are distinctly marked in Akbarnamah which shows that by the end of Akbar's reign it had become common form.⁺

(contd..)

the Ain, the heavy fines imposed on neglectful servants, the carefulness with which Akbar entered into details in order to understand the whole, was ~~a~~ secret of his success, Ain I, Bloch, p. 254.

- 1 In the reign of Jahangir a further distinction over and above the Suwar rank was created. It was to make some proportion of the quota or the entire quota of a mansabdar, Do aspah, sih aspah. It means the officer had to maintain twice the number of horsemen maintained by a similar officer of the Suwar rank only. Thus a mansabdar of 5000 Zat 5000 Suwar was expected to maintain 300 sihaspah troopers, 600 Doaspah troopers and one hundred Ekaspah troopers. But if his rank was increased to 5000 Zat 5000 Suwar all Do Aspah Sih aspah, he was expected to maintain 600 Sih aspah, 1200 Duaspah and 200 Ekaspah. See Padshah naman, Lanori, Vol.II, pp. 505-8. But in very few cases the entire quota was made Do aspah Sih aspan. These distinctions brought about a great divergence, *between the actual and nominal number of troops maintained by a mansabdar.*
2. THE ARTICLE "FOUNDATION OF AKBAR'S ORGANISATION OF THE NOBILITY - AN INTERPRETATION" By M. Akbar Ali PP 270-77. Medieval India Quarterly, JAN & APRIL - 1958.
- + Abdul Aziz's Mansabdari System, p.73.

The Suwar rank never exceeded the Zat rank and equalled it only in a few cases. It was generally lower and often much lower than the Zat rank. In the time of Aurangzeb, we find that the Suwar rank exceeded the Zat rank in 62 cases.¹

The Zat rank was always either equal to or higher than the Suwar rank. There is only one instance in the time of Akbar where the Suwar rank exceeds the Zat ranks. Under Akbar Hasan Qulij's mansab is said to have been 300 Zat/ 500 Suwar.² Abdul Aziz considers it an error of transcription.³ ✓

RECRUITMENT AND PROMOTION

Abul Fazl says, "Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and zealous men are not appointed to mansabs or promoted to higher dignities."⁴ It leaves without doubt that the conferment of a mansab was more or less a matter of daily occurrence. All the mansabdars were appointed directly by the emperor and the candidates for enrolment as mansabdars were required to appear personally before him. Abul Fazl mentions in the Ain, "Everyone who wishes to join the army is taken before His Majesty, in whose presence, his rank is fixed, after which the clerks

1 The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, pp. 69-70. ✓

2 A.N. Vol. III. Eng. Tr. p. 826. ✓

3 The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army, Abdul Aziz, p. 3. ✓

4 Ain I. Bloch. p. 595.

make out the Taliqa (vide Ain 10, Book II)."¹ ✓ The Bakhshi was responsible for presenting all candidates who came for service before the emperor. He was required to maintain a register in which were recorded the names, ranks and salaries of the mansabdars. A large number of persons from Turan and Iran, Turkey and Europe, Hindustan and Kashmir, who wished to serve in the several grades of the standing army were taken before the emperor by the paymasters (bakhshis) and their salaries were fixed by the proper officers.² ✓ Men who joined the army in the beginning of Akbar's reign brought their own horse and accoutrements with them; but as it led to several inefficiencies (vide Second Book Ain I), a reform was made and it became a custom to supply a horse to each recruit on joining for which he was answerable.³ ✓ The salaries as proposed by the officers who brought them was then increased or decreased by the emperor. Abul Fazl remarks that it was generally increased, "for the market of His Majesty's-liberality is

1 Ain I, Bloch, p.265.

2 Ibid., pp. 169-170.

3 Ain I. Bloch. p. 169, f.n.1, and p.170; p.242. But persons who were appointed to the post of ahadi had to bring their own horse. As the Ahadis drew a higher salary, they could buy and maintain horses of superior kind. For details the Ahadis were not appointed to a mansab and were under no-one, considered to be the immediate servants of the emperor. See Bloch I. Ain 4, Book II, p. 259.

never dull."¹ The number of men brought before the emperor depended upon the number of men available. Abul Fazl tells us that "with the view of increasing the army and zeal of the officers, His Majesty gives to each who brings horsemen, a present of two dāms for each horseman."² Every Monday all such horsemen were mustered and were left from the preceding week.³

Moreland says that a person admitted in the imperial service was appointed to a rank as a commander of a certain number of cavalry, he had therefore to enrol and produce the men and horses corresponding to his command and on producing them, he became entitled to draw the salary of his rank.⁴

Another method of recruitment was that the leading nobles of the empire, such as governors of provinces and commanders of military expeditions, recommended persons for appointment to the emperor. Their recommendations were generally accepted and mansabs were given to the persons they recommended. Princes of the royal family also recommended persons to the Emperor for appointment. Abul Fazl writes,

1 Ain I. Bloch, p.170.

2 Ibid., p. 170.

3 Ibid., p. 170.

4 'India at the Death of Akbar', by W.H.Moreland, p.61 (Delhi, 1962). ✓

"On such occasions, Senior Grandees, and other Amirs introduce also any of their friends, for whom they may solicit appointments. His Majesty then fixes the salaries of such candidates according to circumstances; but appointments under fifty rupees per mensem are rarely ever solicited in this manner."¹ We learn from the *Tabaqat* that all the recommendations which Husain Quli Khan, governor of Punjab, made in respect of anyone regarding rank or increased stipend were accepted by Akbar because he was happy with him for his excellent services.²

Once a recommendation was submitted to the Emperor and approved by him, an elaborate procedure was followed for preparing the appointment order. The royal approval was sent to the diwan, the bakhshi and the sahib-i-taujih (military accountant) for inspection. It was presented to the Emperor once more after it had passed through these imperial officers and after the emperor had approved a second time, the formal appointment order (*farman-i-sabti*) was drawn up, requiring the seals of various officers, specially the diwan and the bakhshi before it was issued under the seal of the Wazir.³

1 *Ain I*, Bloch, p.170.

✓2 *T.A.II. B.De.* p. 407.

3 *Farman-i-sabti* was issued for appointments to a mansab; to the wakilship; to the post of sipahsalar (governor of a province and commander-in-chief); to the tutorship (post of ataliq) of the princes; to the rank of Amir-ul-Umarah to the ~~xxx~~ post of Wazir or finance Minister; Bakhshi and Sadr; for appointment to jagirs and conferment of Sayurghals etc. *Ain I. Bloch*, pp. 270-71; The details of the procedure of appointment are described in central structure of the Mughal Empire by Ibn Hasan p.93ff. See also *Ain I*, p.136.

The appointments and promotions depended purely on the merits of the individual. No post was hereditary in character. Everybody got promotions according to his own merits, ability, loyalty and faithful service. In the 18th R.Y. (1573 A.D.) Qutbuddin Mohammad Khan and Mir Mohammad Khan; Khani-i-Kalan, the uncles of Khan-i-Azam Mirza Azia Kokah were put in a subordinate position to him though they were senior in age to him. Abul Fazl writing on the occasion remarks, 'In the code of just sovereignty weight is given to wisdom, not to years and reliance is placed upon abundance of loyalty, and not upon age. For sightedness is the pillar, not bodily bulk. Intellect is the substantive thing, not the largeness of the visible body. The foundation of appointments is talents and virtues and the qualities of the ancestors are not regarded.'¹ Munim Khan was a great amir but his son Ghani Khan could not rise and compelled to leave the empire and died in obscurity.² Rajah Birbal was an intimate friend of Akbar and was a noble of high ranks but his son Lala was only a mansabdar of 200 and could not rise above the mansab of 200.³ In the end, due to his disloyalty and disobedience, he was compelled to leave the imperial service and lead a retired life.³

1 A.N.Vol.III. Eng. Tr. p. 47. ✓

2 M.U. II PP 285, 291 (Tr.) ; Ain I Block PP 333-34 ✓

3 M.U. I Tr. PP 422-23 ✓

In the 32 R.Y. (1587 A.D.) Wazir Khan died in Bengal. He was a noble of the rank of 4000. Shahbaz Khan who was at that time Bakhshi of Bengal, permitted Mirza Muhammad Salih, the son of Late Wazir Khan, to take the command of his father's contingent. Muhammad Salih after taking charge of the contingent became intoxicated with power and decided to rebel with the help of his father's contingent. Thereupon, Akbar sent Mir Murat¹ to bring him and his contingent to court. On the way to court, at Fathpur Hauswah, he behaved so rebelliously that Mir Murad was compelled to arrest him with the help of the local jagirdars and he was brought in chains to court. Akbar kept him imprisoned, for sometime. Abul Fazl remarks that Muhammad Salih did not know that "in matters of chiefship and generalship, relationship and the good deeds of ancestors are of no avail."¹ ✓

The procedure for the grant of promotions to mansabdars was similar to the procedure for the grant of the initial mansab. Sometimes the emperor himself impressed by the bravery and loyalty of the officer gave him promotions. Generally the princes and high nobles, under

1 A.N. Vol.III. Eng. Tr. p. 813; Ain I, Bloch, p. 380. Those of Wazir Khan's soliders who were willing to serve the amirs of those provinces of Bengal and Bihar were left there and the others were brought to court. ✓

whom the mansabdars happened to be serving, made recommendations for promotion. The recommendations were generally accepted. Some persons rose step by step to higher mansabs while there were others who received high lifts. When the emperor heard about the imperial victory ⁱⁿ at Gujarat, he raised the mansabs of the imperial officers. Badaoni says that the increase was made "from 10 to 20 or from 10 to 30 , according to the circumstances."¹ He means to say that the promotions were made either one step or two. It was not essential that every^{body} must pass the various stages of the mansab system in order to reach a high mansab. The usual practice, however, was that when a mansabdar did well at the muster and brought the requisite number of troops, he was promoted to the next higher grade. Sometimes an exceptionally competent mansabdar, who pleased the emperor by loyal and devoted service was given an abnormally high lift. The persons coming from foreign lands who wished to join Akbar's service were sometimes given exceptionally high mansab without performing any service at the Mughal court. It was partly done to keep them satisfied and win their confidence. Seeing their background, noble lineage and the past experience, the emperor immediately conferred upon them high mansabs and

1 M.T.II. Lowe, p. 346.

afterwards they were to prove themselves worthy of the honour displayed by the emperor. Abul Fazl remarks "His Majesty sees through some men at the first glance, and confers upon them high rank."¹

In the 24th regnal year Masum Khan who was the Kokah of Mirza Hakim was annoyed with the Mirza and came to Emperor Akbar. Akbar gave him a mansab of 500 and gave him a jagir in Bihar. In Bihar when he served loyally and defeated Kala Pahar, he was raised to a mansab of 1000 (hazari) and a horse, a saropa and other favours were bestowed upon him.² It was a general custom for the emperor to award promotion in mansabs on the occasion of the coronation day celebrations, birthday celebrations, at the time of a military expedition or after a Victory in the war.

Promotions were awarded for various reasons. When a person exhibited gallantry and courage in a war, he received promotion for his bravery. If someone loyally served the empire for along period, seeing his length of service, the emperor usually gave him promotion. If a person fought for the imperial cause and refused to join the rebels, he was rewarded for his sincerity with a promotion in mansab and the conferment of a fertile jagir. It should be noticed

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 248.

2 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.II, p. 861.

that when Abul Fazl speaks of promotion, he does not always refer to the promotion in mansab. Sometimes he writes that the particular officer was favoured by the emperor by the grant of a horse and 'his rank was thereby increased²' or 'he got promotion in rank'. Here he only means to say that the honour or dignity of the officer was increased with the grant of the honour and does not mean that his mansab was increased.¹ ✓ The promotion was generally given when an officer was found to be really deserving a higher post. In the exceptional cases where promotions were made without the persons having deserved it, they had to prove their merit after the promotion to shut the mouths of the envious persons. The cases of Rajah Birbal and Shaikh Abul Fazl testify that favouritism or partiality on the part of the emperor could not be tolerated by the grandees of the empire. ✓ Rajah Birbal, due to his ready wit and humorous nature became a favourite of the emperor and received promotions and attained a high rank without ever participating in a war or display of courage and bravery. Similarly, Shaikh Abul Fazl due to his faithfulness and sincerity became

1 When promotion was made actually, that is the mansab of a person was increased, he was to be provided with an additional jagir to meet the increased Zat rank pay of his new mansab. Jagirs were given according to the mansab of a jagirdar. In the 41st R.Y. when Mirza Shahrukh was promoted to the mansab of 5000 Zat, 2500 Suwar, a grant of land was made to Mirza Shahrukh on the scale of 5000 Zat 2500 Suwar. Ujjain and other choice places of Malwa were included in his jagir. A.N. III (Tr.) p.1069. ✓

an intimate friend of the emperor and received a high mansab. The jealous persons began to poison the mind of the emperor against him and we find that both Shaikh Abul Fazl and Rajah Birbal had to prove their merit by leading military expeditions, while the former succeeded, the later died because he was not a good general. It seems that the persons who had no source or who escaped the emperor's eye, had to suffer. We often find the ranks of the mansabdars being increased simultaneously with their appointments to higher posts. But this was not a rule and these are cases of appointments to higher posts without a corresponding increase in the mansab. This was also considered as a promotion in the language of Abul Fazl as it increased the dignity of the individual but no material gain was possible without the promotion in mansab. There are also cases on record, in which the promotion granted was in the Zat mansab alone and no higher post was given. An increase in the mansab was usually proportionate to the mansab already held, the grant of an increase larger than the original mansab being quite exceptional. Normally, a promotion by an additional mansab of more than 50% of the original was not granted.

As a rule the emperor alone had the prerogative to appoint a person to a particular post and the appointee had to serve on the post allotted to him by the emperor willingly or unwillingly. Disobedience to the emperor's wishes was

considered to be an act liable for punishment. In 1574-75 A.D. Sadiq Khan, a great noble had been given charge of the great camp along with Mirza Yusuf Khan at the time of Akbar's return from the eastern provinces to the capital. Due to Sadiq Khan's carelessness one of the imperial elephants was drowned. Akbar punished him for not performing the duty assigned to him wholeheartedly by confiscating his jagir and not permitting him to do homage and expelling him to Thattah. Abul Fazl remarks that he was punished for bad service so that he might know that "in the service of kings no distinction should be made between little and great employments, and that obedience must be paid with one's whole heart and energy."¹ In 1574-75 A.D. when Akbar appointed Muzaffar Khan to the charge of the great camp, he in his folly used improper language in regard to his acceptance of this great appointment and so fell out of favour. The duty was then assigned to Mirza Yusuf Khan ~~Naizawi~~.²

Sometimes the emperor out of favour to a particular noble offered to him the choice to serve according to his own desire or convenience. In the 23rd R.Y. (1578-79 A.D.) Muhibb Ali Khan, son of Mir Khalifa, who from his early childhood was an intelligent companion of Akbar, was offered

1 A.H. Vol. III. Eng. Tr. pp. 149, 201-2.

2 Ibid., p. 120.

to choose one of the four great employments, 1st- the office of Mir Arzi at court, 2nd- the charge of the harem, 3rd- the governorship of a remote province, 4th- the governorship of the blissful city of Delhi. As his strength of body was not great, Muhibb Ali preferred the last employment and therefore, was made the governor of Delhi.¹

MILITARY OBLIGATIONS OF THE MANSABDARS

The nobles were expected to maintain troopers as indicated by their Zat rank. But dishonesty among the nobles was so widespread that they did not maintain the number of horses and cavalymen expected from them for the imperial service. Therefore, to check all evasions of military obligations, Akbar had to introduce Descriptive Roll system and to make the issue of pay dependent upon the inspection of these rolls. Abul Fazl says, "When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army and inquired into the quality of the horses, he ordered that upright Bitikchis should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling places and race were to be registered... His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses and the stipulated amount of pay. His Majesty has

1 A.N.Vol.III Eng. Tr. p. 357. M.T. D. Love P.193

the men assembled in an open place and receives the several descriptive rolls, when the men with their horses are handed over to the above five officers. The amount of their pay is then entered at the bottom of the descriptive rolls and is countersigned by those officers, which serves a proof, and prevents fraudulent alternations. Each roll is then handed over to the inspecting Darogha. He takes them in the manner described above (vide Ain 4) to His Majesty who orders the pay to be increased or decreased."¹ This stopped, in a short time much lawlessness and regenerated the whole military system but as at that time branding was not introduced, the greedy persons adopted other corrupt practices such as horse-borrowing etc.² Therefore, Akbar introduced the branding system in addition to descriptive rolls in the 19th A.Y. (1574-75 A.D.).³

There were elaborate rules for periodical musters. Every mansabdar who held a jagir had to present his horses after three years for dagh, failing which his jagir to the extent of 1/10th was withheld. Abul Fazl says, "The servants (mansabdars) of His Majesty have their horses every year (should be after 3 years) newly marked, and thus maintain

1 Ain.I. Bloch, p. 265, Book II, Ain 7. ✓

2 Ain I. Bloch, p. 242, Book II, Ain I.

3 Ain I. Bloch, p. 265; A.M. Vol. III. Eng. Tr. p. 165.

the efficiency of the army, as by their endeavours unprincipled people learn to choose the path of honesty. If a mansabdar delays bringing his men to the muster, one-tenth of his jagir is withheld....Some Bitikchis and near servants of His Majesty, who have no leisure to look after jagirs, receive their monthly salaries in cash, and muster their horses every eighteen months. Grandees whose jagirs are very remote, do not bring their horses to muster before twelve years have elapsed; but when six years have elapsed since the last muster, one-tenth of their income is retrenched. And if a mansabdar has been promoted to a higher mansab, and three years have elapsed since he last presented his horses at muster, he receives a personal (زاد) increase of salary, but draws the allowance for the increased number of his men after the first muster. His old and his new men then get their assignments."¹ Thus we find that the nobles whose jagirs were situated in a remote place were given a concession. The interval between the two daghs was not to exceed 12 years in any case but the

1 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 266-67, Book II, Ain 8. From Abdul Aziz we learn that in the original Ain (Pre. Text) the word is after every three years which Blochmann translates by a slip every year (Bloch. p.266) and which Irwin uncritically copies (Army, p.54). See Abdul Aziz's, Mansabdari System, p. 190. ✓

free concession really extended up to six years only after which period they lost 1/10th of their jagir.

When a mansabdar got an increase of mansab and 3 years had passed since his last muster, he received his increased Jat salary from the date of increase but his additional cavalry could not receive any pay until passed through the dagh. After the first muster, the mansabdar could draw the allowance for the increased number of troopers. The second and latter musters were technically known as dagh-i-Mukarrar or repetition of the brand.¹ ✓

The branding business was vigourously pushed forward in all parts of the empire. In the end of the 23rd R.F. (1579 A.D.) Khwajah Ghiyasuddin Ali Asaf Khan, a noble of high rank was sent to Malwa to carry out the branding regulation there and thence to proceed to Gujarat, apparently to popularise the branding regulation there. He was to improve the army in accordance with the advice of Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Qulij Khan,² the governors of the provinces of Gujarat and Malwa respectively.³ In the 24th R.F. (1579-80 A.D.) the work of branding (dagh) was strenuously carried out in Bihar. Ra' Purakhotam, Maulana

1 Abdul Aziz's Mansabdari system, pp. 190-191; Ain.I, Bloch, pp. 266-67. ✓

2 A.N. Vol. III (Eng. Tr.) pp. 383-84.

3 A.N. Vol. III, Eng. Tr. pp. 306, 389.

Jayib, S. Mujduddin and to eunuch Shamsheer Khan exhibited harshness and virulence in the matters of reviews and drills and of branding.¹ Abul Fazl remarks describing the events of Bihar at this time.² Muhibb Ali Khan transferred those men from Patna to Muhibbatipur near Rohtas and started the business of branding.³ In the 24th R.Y. Muzaffar Khan, alongwith other officers used great severity in the matters of branding in Bengal and confiscated the jagirs of many of the amirs of that province. Baba Khan Qaqshal and Khaldin Khan who were officers of great importance tried hard to get their jagirs confirmed but in vain. They rose in rebellion and killed Muzaffar Khan.⁴ But even after the implementation of branding regulation, the nobles failed to maintain the full contingents represented by their Zat rank. Therefore, Akbar had to introduce the Suwar rank. Now a mansabdar was compelled to maintain the full number of cavalry denoted by the Suwar rank and was penalised in case of default. A Dakhshī's contingent consisted of 3 Si-aspah, 4 duaspah and 3 Yakaspah, i.e. 10 troopers with 20 horses.⁵ Thus a man holding 100 Suwar rank was required to maintain 100 cavalrymen and 200 horses. It appears that earlier (before 1594-95 A.D.)

1. A.M.III.Eng.Tr. pp. 417-18; M.T.II, Lowe, p.274.

2. Ibid., p. 420.

3. Ibid., p. 420.

4. Ibid., pp. 427-430; M.T.II, Lowe, pp. 288-89. ✓

5. A.M.I. Bloch, pp. 260-61. Blochmann by a miscalculation has 18 horses instead of 20. ✓

when the Zat mansab represented the contingent of the mansabdar, a mansabdar of 10 (Dahbashi) had to maintain 2 Chahar aspah, 3 Siaspah, 3 duaspah, and 2 yakaspah, i.e. 10 troopers with 25 horses.¹ ✓

In special circumstances, the Emperor could reduce the quota of Suwars which a mansabdar was required to maintain, Abul Fazl remarks, "Sometimes he (Akbar) increases the mansab of a servant but decreases his contingent." It means that his Zat mansab was increased, which enhanced the dignity of the individual but the liability to maintain the contingent for the state was reduced to some extent. In 1593 A.D. (before the introduction of the Suwar rank Mirza Shahrakh was made a mansabdar of 5000.³ It means that he was made a mansabdar of 5000 Zat and according to the rules of 1575 as given by Badaoni and Abul Fazl, he was expected to keep 5000 horsemen and 12,500 horses (according to 10:25 ratios of horsemen and horse.)⁴ In the 41st R.Y. (1596 A.D), i.e. one year after the introduction of Suwar rank), the emperor was much pleased with the Mirza and made

1 Ain.I. Bloch, pp. 260-61; A letter of Abul Fazl shows that a mansabdar of 100 Suwar had to bring at the maximum 50 horsemen. Rugat-i-Abul Fazl, p. 45, Nawal Kishore edn.

2 Ain.I., Bloch, p. 248. ✓

3 A.N. Vol. III, Eng. Tr. p. 991.

4 Ain.I. Bloch, p. 261.

him a mansabdar of 5000 Zat, 2500 Suwar. Now the Mirza was to maintain only 2500 horsemen and 5000 horses (according to 10:20 ratio of horsemen and horses).¹ Thus Akbar's pleasure was signified by a decrease in the contingent kept by the Mirza.

In 1001-1002 A.H. (1592-93 A.D.) Rai Sal Darbari was a mansabdar of 2000. (This is mansab-i-Zat) according to Nizamuddin Ahmad.² In the 47th R.Y. (1502 A.D.) Rai Sal was promoted to the mansab of 2500 Zat/1250 Suwar. Again it makes it clear that while his Zat mansab was increased by 500, his contingent was reduced to a great extent. Formerly he was expected to maintain 2000 cavalrymen, now only 1250 horsemen were required from him. Similarly in 1001 A.H. Ram Das Kachwaha was a mansabdar of 500,³ in the 50th R.Y. (1605 A.D.) he was raised in the mansab of 2000 Zat 200 Suwar.⁴ It further confirms Abul Fazl's statement that whereas the mansab(Zat) was increased his contingent was reduced. According to the previous mansab he was required to maintain 500 troopers but now only 200 troopers were required to be maintained by him. Dashrath Sharma appears to be confused to

1 Ain.I. Bloch, p. 261. ✓

2 Ain I. Bloch pp. 462-63; T.A.II. B.De. p. 671.

3 Ain I. Bloch, pp. 539-40.

4 A.H.Vol.III.Tr. p. 1253.

find how the emperor's pleasure was signified by the decrease in the contingent to be maintained by the officers.¹ It should be remembered that it was done in exceptional cases where the emperor was very much pleased with the mansabdar, that he increased the Zat mansab and reduced the Suwar mansab.² In some cases the emperor exempted the mansabdars from dagh (branding). The Hara Rajputs were exempted from branding their horses.

The establishment of Suwar mansab obviously meant an inducement to the mansabdar to bring to the master as large a contingent as possible. For an officer with a high Zat rank might be satisfied with a low Suwar rank, but with a sufficiently high Suwar rank, his Zat rank salary would increase, which was in addition to the percentage he got on the Suwar rank pay, and his status would be higher.³

The mansabdars were under obligation to maintain and feed certain number of elephants, horses, camels and beasts of burden belonging to the State. Out of the Zat rank pay, the mansabdars had to maintain horses, camels, elephants and beasts a burden etc. belonging to the emperor. This was technically known as Khurk-i-dawabb (fodder for beasts).⁴

1 See Dashrath Sharma's article 'Akbar's cavalry (I) The Zat and Suwar ranks,' *Journal of Indian History*, pp. 360-61, 1926-27. ✓

2 Even in Aurangzeb's time such cases are visible. See *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Athar Ali, pp. 58-59.

3 Abdul Aziz, p. 72.

4 Abdul Aziz, pp. 11, 37, 48. The term Khurak-i-dawabb is not used by Abdul Fazl, but it is used in the later chronicles.

The number was regulated according to the Zat rank of the mansabdar. Abūl Fazl says "He (Akbar) also fixes the number of the beasts of burden".¹ In the Ain, the number of animals to be maintained for the state by each mansabdar is given which is reproduced in the table of the salaries of the mansabdars given below.² Branding was also enforced to check the animal corps required to be maintained by the mansabdars under the Zat rank.³ Akbar appointed clever writers who kept the roll of horses that arrived and had been branded. The grandees and other mansabdars were also appointed in charge of the imperial stables.⁴

When the brand was first introduced, it was made in the shape of the head of the letter Sin (i.e. س), and was put on the right side of the neck of the horse. The branding mark was again and again changed but in the end numerals were introduced, which was considered to be the best remedy to check corruption and fraud. Iron numerals were made and put on the right thigh of the horse. Formerly, each horse on being mustered for the first time, was marked with a1; the second time with a2, and so on but afterwards

1 Ain I. Bloch. p. 248..

2 Ibid., pp. 257-58.

3 Ibid., pp. 266-67; M. Athar Ali, 'The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb, p. 58; M.T. II, Lowe, 143.

4 Ibid., pp. 141-142.

Akbar ordered that separate numerals should be used for the horses of the princes, the Mansabdars, the governors of the provinces, and all other dignitaries attached to the court.¹

Monserate refers to the establishment of the mansabdars and their obligation to maintain transport for the state. He says, "He Akbar charges them (nobles) with the maintenance of a certain number of elephants, horses, camels, panthers, fallow deer and doves, which they have to produce before him on stated day every year."² Monserate, however, considers this obligation as derogatory to the exalted rank and dignity of the mansabdars. It appears that Monserate was not able to understand this obligation of the mansabdars and seems to have understood that only those great nobles who had become enriched by the revenues of their provinces, were summoned to court to prevent from them from being insolent and the emperor gave them many imperious commands as though they were his slaves, and they were asked to maintain the above mentioned animals.³ Here Monserate is clearly in error, for every mansabdar had this obligation and not only the great nobles who were rich. Further, Monserate includes panthers, fallow deer and doves

1 * Ain I. Bloch, pp. 265-66.

2 Monserate's commentaries, p. 90 (J.S. Hoyland, Eng. Tr. from Latin, 1922, Cuttack). ✓

3 Ibid., p. 90.

which appear to be wrong, for Abul Fazl has clearly mentioned the beasts of burden to be maintained by the mansabdars. It appears that Monserrate saw, panthers, doves etc. kept for the emperor's amusement and he came to believe that those were maintained by the great nobles. Badauni's statement further confirms that every mansabdar in addition to the contingent was required to maintain a fixed number of the beasts of burden. He says, "They were likewise to keep elephants, horses and camels in proportion to their command (mansab), according to the same rule."¹

The mansabdars were under obligation to maintain not only the transport indicated against each rank in the table but also the emperor's elephants as well as various other animals kept for amusement and curiosity. Abul Fazl tells us that the Emperor, "put severel halqas (His Majesty has appointed a superintendent over every troop of ten, twenty and thirty elephants, such a troop is called a halqa, the superintendent is called Faujdar) in charge of every grandee and required him to look after them. The fodder also is now supplied by the government."²

1 M.T.II. Lowe, p. 193. ✓

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 133-34.

MASALDAT (MUSASADAT) OR LOANS TO MANSABDARS

The officers were helped with money-advances and loans in times of need and these were recovered by easy instalments. Abul Fazl says "Higher officers, who receive lands or monthly salaries may occasionally come into difficulties when it would be against the rules of the government for them to ask for a present. For this reason His Majesty appointed a treasurer and a separate Mir Arz and those who wish to borrow money may now do so without prejudice to their honour, or annoyance of delay. For the first year, nothing is charged; in the second, the loan is increased by a sixteenth part of it; in the third year, by one-eighth; in the fourth year, by one-fourth; from the fifth to the seventh, by one-half; from the eighth to the tenth year, by three-fourths; from the tenth year and longer, double the original loan is charged after which there is no further increase."¹ It should be remembered that charging interest on loans is against the Mohammadan law but Akbar, did it in order to teach propriety in transactions to his officers² and probably to save them from going to greedy usurers who could charge high rate of interest. Therefore, Akbar made a provision to give advances to the needful officers from the imperial treasury and the

1 Ain I. Bloch, p.275, Book II, Ain 15.

2 Ibid., p.276, also f.n.1 Blochmann remarks that though it was against the Mohammadan law but Akbar was a Hindu in such matters.

rate of interest for high and low mansabdars was the same.¹
 From Abul Fazl's description it is clear that the officers immediately received loans without any delay when they so desired. We find officers often owed large amounts to the treasury.²

SALARIES

The nobles received their salaries from the state either in cash or in jagir. In 1575 A.D. when karories were appointed in the empire, the jagir land was changed into khalisa land, i.e. under the direct management of the central government and the payment to the mansabdars was made in cash.³ Generally the mansabdars received salaries by assignment of land. In Akbar's time the mansabdars were paid high salaries. The pay of the mansabdar was determined by the Zat rank he held. Out of this pay the mansabdars were

1 As the first expedition to Gujarat lasted for one year and the ~~xxx~~ victorious troops on account of the prolonged stay became destitute of the necessary equipments and they had not so much time since their return to the capital they could collect money from their jagirs and repair the deficiencies in their accountments, Akbar gave money from the imperial treasury and bestowed in the shape of allowances and rewards much gold and unbounded treasure from his full treasury on the army, for preparation for the second expedition to Gujarat.
 T.A. II. BAE. p.406.

2 Saif Khan Kokah and Shaikh Hamid Bokhari were under heavy debts to the royal treasury when they died in Akbar's reign. Both were nobles. Mu D Tr. P.688 ✓

3 A.N. Vol.III, pp. 166-167. ✓

required to maintain horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts for the state and the balance was meant for maintaining their households.¹ ✓

The monthly salary of a mansabdar of 100 Zat/100 Suwar, according to Abul Fazl, was Rs. 700 while that of a rank holder of 100 Zat/0 (no Suwar) got Rs. 500.²

The nine intermediate classes have monthly allowance decreasing from Rs. 700 by Rs. 20 for every ~~then~~^{ten} troopers, which they furnish less.³ ✓

Thus we find that the monthly Zat rank salary of the mansabdar varies with his Suwar rank. The monthly grants made to the mansabdars varied according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent was equal to his zat mansab (whose Zat and Suwar ranks were equal) was placed in the first class; an officer with a lower Suwar rank down to half the zat rank was a second class officer; while the officer whose Suwar rank was below half of the Zat rank was a third class officer. Blochmann thinks that the three classes of salaries which Abul Fazl mentions for each mansab in the table⁴ do not refer to the three classes described in the quotation⁵ on the ground that

1 Ain I, Bloch, Book II, Ain 2, pp. 243-47; Abul ^dAziz, pp. 48-49.

2 Ain I, Bloch, p. 248.

3 Abdul Aziz, pp. 58-60.

4 Ain I. Bloch. pp. 257-58.

5 Ibid., p. 248.

the difference of the salaries of the three classes is very slight.¹ ✓ But there is no other classification to which these different salaries can correspond. Abdul Aziz's above classification further proves that these are the classes referred to in the table. The salaries entered in II and III class columns in that table are the minimum salaries for these classes.² ✓

Abdul Fazl's table of mansabdars gives the various kinds and number of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts which the mansabdars of every rank were required to maintain. It also gives the monthly salaries, in rupees of the mansabdars of all classes and grades.³ It should be remembered that the salaries detailed in the table are only for the Zat ranks of the mansabdars, as at the time of the compilation of the table the Suwar ranks had not finally emerged. Though the Zat rank salary varies with the change in Suwar rank, it is not the Suwar rank pay in any sense. Dr. Horn wrongly says that the increase of Rs. 20 for every 10 horses added to the horse rank is for the maintenance of the 10 horses thus added, while Rs. 500 alone throughout the ascending scale is the salary of the Zat rank. It is to be noted, however, that this scale does

1 Ain I. Bloch, p. 251.

2 Abdul Aziz, pp. 48, 59-60.

3 See the Appendix 'A' given in the end of this chapter.

✓

not apply to any rank other than 100.¹

Additional salary, that is, besides the Zat rank salary mentioned in the table prepared by Abdul Fazl in the Ain, was paid for the Suwar rank or the cavalry establishment. For Suwar rank there was a separate table, pay for these horsemen being disbursed under the name of Tabinan. The mansabdars were permitted to keep for themselves five percent of the salaries of their troops to meet various expenses incurred for them (troops) and this was the Suwar rank salary. Abul Fazl says, "The commander of every contingent (Tabinbashi) is allowed to keep for himself the twentieth part of the pay of his men which reimburses him for various expenses."²

1 Hawkins says that 'a captaine that hath Five Thousand horse to maintain in the warres hath likewise of Fame other Five Thousand, which he is not to maintain in the Warres but only for his Table, allowed upon every horse by the month two rupias and the other five thousand twenty rupias by the month and this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed,' Purchas III, Tr. pp. 44-45. Hawkins means to say that an increase of 10 horses to the horse rank will increase the Zat rank salary of the mansabdar by 20 Rupees. Horse fame is Hawkin's picturesque translation of the Zat rank. The Zat rank salary agrees with the scale given by Abul Fazl. Abul Fazl makes the scale applicable to the mansab of 100 alone but Hawkins seems to make it general. He seems to think that if a mansabdar of 5000/0 gets the Zat salary 28,000 Rupees, a mansabdar of 5000/2500 will get 33,000 rupees as his Zat rank salary and one with the rank 5000/5000, will get 38,000 Rupees which is not the case. See the table given in the Appendix 'A' in the end of this chapter.

2 Ain I, Bloch, p. 275 (end edn.); Akbar the Great, Vol. II by A.L. Srivastava (1st edn., 1967) p. 230.

It should be remembered that although the Zat salaries of Akbar's time are given in rupees by Abul Fazl in the table given in the Ain, all accounts of salaries were made out in dams but at the time of making out the estimate, one-half was paid in rupees, reckoned at 38 dams each, half of the remainder was paid in muhurs at nine rupees each and the last quarter was given in dams for stores. When the value of the rupee was raised to 40 dams, the soldiers received dams at the same rate.¹

The salaries to the mansabdars were paid for all the twelve months in the year. Smith and Irwine wrongly hold the view that the salaries were not paid for all the 12 months in the year.² Irwine remarks that few of the officers received the whole twelve months pay, the number of month's pay sanctioned per annum ranging from four to twelve.³ Irwine's mistake seems to be due to the misinterpretation of Abul Fazl's remark which says that 'every year one month's pay is subtracted on account of the horse, the value of which is raised fifty percent above prime cost and for accountments; but as much care is shown in buying horses, the increase is not productive of

1 Ain I. Bloch, p. 275 (2nd edn.); Abdul Aziz, p. 65.

2 Smith, Akbar the great Mogul, p. 363; Irwine, 'The Army of the Indian Mughals, p.7.

3 Irwine, p.7.

any loss for the soldier".¹ None of the contemporary sources mention that the salaries were not paid for all the 12 months. It seems to be a later development that the salaries were not paid for all the 12 months. Such deductions seems to be a subsequent development possibly introduced to neutralise the unauthorised gains from assignment of revenue.² ✓ In Akbar's time the salaries were paid for all the 12 months in the year and not for four to twelve months. Moreland and Abdul Aziz hold the same opinion.³ ✓ The Zat rank salaries of the mansabdars mentioned in the Ain by Abūl Fazl, were certainly received by them for all the twelve months.⁴

Sometimes the mansabdar received additional money as inam or reward but this payment could be regarded as being only supplementary to the amount paid against mansabs. The income from this aspect was uncertain and occasional, therefore could not be considered as of much importance in the routine life. The high nobles were no doubt given handsome amounts in rewards which must have benefitted them considerably.

1 Ain I. Bloch. p. 275. ✓

2 See M. Athar Ali's 'The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, pp. 47-49.

3 India at the Death of Akbar, by Moreland, pp. 62-64 (Delhi, 1962); Abdul Aziz, pp. 68-69. ✓

4 Akbar the Great, Vol. III, pp. 230, 258 by A.L. Srivastava. He also agree with the statement that the salaries were paid for 12 months. ✓

For example, Abul Fazi, the famous historian and noble of Akbar's reign received a cash prize of Rs. 50,000.¹ Abdi Khwajah received Rs. 20,000 as a present from Akbar.² In the reign of Akbar the mansabdars were paid high salaries. No doubt, the mansabdars had to defray the cost of establishment, and other minor expenses out of these salaries, salaries even after deducting the cost of establishment were very handsome. A.L. Srivastava rightly observes that the salaries paid to the members of the imperial service (mansabdars) were very high according to any standard, ancient or modern.³ For example, a mansabdar of 5000 received per mensem 30,000 rupees, which, of course, included the cost of his establishment.⁴ After deducting rupees 10,831 on account of the maintenance cost of the establishment and an equal amount for his official establishment and incidental expenses, he was left with a net income of rupees 8,338 a month. Calculating at the ratio of 1:15, the value of 8,338 rupees of Akbar's time comes rupees 1,25,070 of today, which amount is considerably high, taking into consideration that this salary was paid for all the twelve months.⁵ The table of pay which Moreland has prepared is slightly different.⁶

1 A.N.III. Eng. Tr. p. 1211.

2 Ibid., pp. 1246-47.

3 Akbar the Great, Vol. II, p. 258 by A.L. Srivastava.[✓]

4 Ain. I. Bloch, pp. 243-247.

5 Ibid., p. 251.

6 India at the Death of Akbar by Moreland, pp. 62-64.

No doubt Abul Fazl has given the salaries of the various grades of the mansabdars and also the number of horses, elephants, camels carts etc of the establishment of each mansabdar and also the cost of maintenance of these establishments,¹ it is difficult to ascertain even approximately the amount which can be regarded as the net income of the mansabdars. There are number of reasons for this unseemingly true observation. Firstly, Abul Fazl has mentioned only the Zat rank salaries of the mansabdars and omitted the Suwar rank salaries which could bring to notice the total emoluments of the mansabdars. Secondly, Abul Fazl has mentioned only the establishment of horses, camels, elephants and beasts of burden to be maintained by the mansabdar for the state and not the amount ~~ex~~ to be spent for his official establishment and incidental expenses for the maintenance of troops, or the amount to be spent on the maintenance of his households. Thirdly, it is not certain that the mansabdars actually maintained the full establishment of animals and transport as required from them according to the Zat rank salary. They might have maintained less and appropriated to themselves the salary given for the maintenance of the establishment. It must be remembered that there was no specification of the amount to be spent

1 Ain I. Bloch, pp. 243-247; 257-258.

for the maintenance of the establishment out of the Zat rank salary. It could also be possible that a worthy and competent officer might have maintained the full establishment at a substantially smaller sum. Fourthly, those mansabdars who received profitable jagirs could hope for something more and on the other hand spent less on the establishment, and thus considerably increased their net income. ✓ They increased their income by judicious economies in military expenditure or as the result of good fortune in securing a profitable jagir. Akbar disliked this system and endeavoured to introduce cash payments but the cash payments were unpopular because of the delay in treasuries and the officers felt greater security and certainty when in possession of a jagir and he could often hope to obtain one which was really worth or which could be made to yield more than the official records showed. ✓

The following conclusions can be drawn from the table of pay of the mansabdars given by Abul Fazl in the Ain. Firstly, the salary for the Zat rank is stated separately for each rank, since the pay fixed for one number of Zat rank usually bore no arithmetical proportion to another Zat rank. The salary did not rise proportionately as one proceeded to higher rank. ✓ Secondly, from the rank of 5000 downwards, the pay for Zat rank was fixed differently

for three classes. The pay for the first grade was higher than for the second and higher for the second than for the third. Here too, the salary did not rise proportionately from third grade to second or from second grade to first grade. Thirdly, the pay was given according to the Zat rank and had nothing to do with the difference of the number of troops maintained by mansabdar. For example, the Zat rank salary of a mansabdar of 5000 Zat / 5000 Suwar (First grade officer) was Rs. 30,000 per month; of 5000 Zat 2500 Suwar (second grade officer) was Rs. 29,000; and 5000 Zat / 2000 Suwar or less (Third class officer) was Rs. 28,000 per month. But a second grade officer whether he commanded 2500 troopers or 3000 troopers or 4000 troopers or even 4500 troopers, he received the same zat rank salary of Rs. 29000. Similarly, a mansabdar of 5000 Zat / ^{2000 Suwar} whether he commanded 500 troopers or 1000 troopers, or 1500 troopers or even 2000 troopers received the same Zat rank salary of Rs. 28,000.¹ No doubt, Abul Fazl says that Yazhbashis (mansabdars of 100) were of eleven classes and their monthly salary differed according to the contingent.² From this Abdul Aziz has come to the conclusion that the

1 See the Appendix 'A', given in the end of this chapter for details.

2 Ain I. Bloch, p.243.

salaries entered in II and III class columns in that table are the minimum salaries for those classes respectively.¹ Here it becomes difficult to agree with the opinion held by the learned historian. It must be remembered that the eleven classes mentioned by Abdul Fazl only refer to the mansab of 100 and the salaries mentioned in II class and III class columns of the table are the minimum salaries of the grade of 100 only. This classification has nothing to do with other grades. There were only three classes in the other grades and their salaries were fixed.

It is mentioned in Vir Vinod that when Akbar died, he left ten krores of rupees in cash, ten maunds of gold, seventy maunds of silver and sufficient precious stones and jewels.² The prosperity of Akbar's reign and the consequent enrichment of the treasury further proves that the mansabdars were highly paid under Akbar. ✓

1 Abdul Aziz, pp. 59-60. ✓

2 Vir Vinod, II, p.186. ✓

CHAPTER IV

THE JAGIRDARI AND THE ZAMINDARI SYSTEMS AND THE NOBILITY

ASSIGNMENT OF JAGIRS

The mansabdars of the Mughal Empire received their pay either in cash or in assignement of land from which they collected the land revenue. The assignments were known as jagirs and its holder was known as jagirdar. In the time of Delhi Sultans the word 'Iqta' was used for jagir and its holder was known as 'Iqtadar'. Land which was reserved for the income of the state was known as crown land or Khalisah land. The Khalisah land was direct under the control of the crown and the revenue was collected in such areas by the imperial agents.¹

Generally speaking jagirs were assigned in lieu of salary due to a mansabdar for his Zat and Suwar rank. Such jagirs were known as jagir-i-tankhwah.² Then their were jagirs without military service. Such jagirs to which

1 The whole country, with the exception of those held immediately from the crown (khalisah land) were held by the amirs as jagir and as they were wicked and rebellions and spent large sums on their stores and workshops and amassed wealth, they had no leisure to look after the troops or to take an interest in the people. In case of any emergency they came themselves with some of their slaves and Mughal attendants to the scene of the war but of really useful soldiers there were none."

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Badaoni, II (Lowe), p.193.

2, Dilkusha f. 139a, Allahabad documents, 789. ✓

no military service was attached appear to be called bedagh O mahalli.¹ The holder had nothing to do with the army and the musters, at which the mansabdars drew the salaries of their contingents, nor with the collection of taxes of the several mahalls or parganas. Mir Fathullah of Shiraz during the reign of Akbar received Basawar as his jagir, bedagh O mohalli.²

Jagirs which were given for beneficial purposes were known as Suyurghals, Milk or Madad-i-maash. Subsistence allowance paid in cash was known as Wazifa. Such grants were made to ^{the} poor and weak; honourable men of gentle birth, Shaikhs, Saints ^{and Shias} etc.³ The land given in Suyurghal for benevolent purposes was hereditary and as such differed from jagir land conferred for a specified time on mansabdars in lieu of salaries.⁴

Jagirs which involved no obligation of service were known as 'Inam' or reward. This was given in addition to the Zat rank pay to a mansabdar in the way of honour.

1 Badaoni II, p. 315. Badaoni also had a jagir of 1,000 bighas at which he often grumbles, calling himself by way of joke Hazari or a Mansabdar of One Thousand.

2 M.T.II. p.315.

3 "A large number are worthy but poor; they receive the means of keeping a horse and have lands assigned to themselves, without being obliged to mark their horses with the imperial brand". Ain I. Bloch. p.241.

4 On inquiry Akbar found that the Sadrs had been guilty of bribery and dishonest practices. As petitions for these grants were made through the Sadr, he took bribes and recommended the names of unworthy persons for these

It was for the emperor to decide whether any mansabdar would receive his pay in cash or in jagir. Since a jagir was given in lieu of salary, it was essential that it should yield at least as much as the salary to which the holder was entitled. If it yielded less he would be a loser. Moreland has quoted a set of figures representing what was regarded as the average or normal revenue yield of each mahal or revenue unit on the basis of which all jagir assignments were made. In Akbar's time such figures were known as Jama.¹

In the early years of Akbar's reign the Jama was a long way from hasil.² Soon after Bairam Khan's dismissal, Akbar appointed Khwajah Abdul Majeed as Wazir with the title of Asaf Khan about the middle of 1560 A.D. and charged him with the duty of reorganising the revenue administration. By taking advantage of the rent roll figures (Jama-i-Wilayat)

(contd..)

grants. Akbar considerably interfered with Suyurghal lands and arbitrarily resumed whatever land he liked and increased the khalisah land. He also completely broke the power of the Sadr and appointed Sadrs in Provinces also. Before him Alauddin Khalji had resumed the greater part of the madad-i-maash grants and made them Crown lands. He also lowered the dignity of the Sadr by appointing the key-bearer to this high office.

Tarikh-i-FiruzShahi, p.353.

1 The term Jama is rendered a little inaccurately as 'valuation' by Moreland. Moreland's Agrarian System of Moslem India, pp. 56, 209, 212, 240. In the 17th century the term Jamadami came into use for the same category of figures.

2 Ain II, p.2; A.N. II. p. 270, III, p.117; AN II Tr. P.403

recorded in kind, that is in various kinds of grain (raqami)¹ and not in dams or rupees (which practice had come down from the time of Bairam Khan), he over valued or sometime under valued at will the assigned lands that were given to the officers in lieu of their salaries. The empire at this period was small (consisted of Punjab, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad and Awadh) but the number of officers to be paid by assignment of land was large. In 1560-61 A.D. Khan-i-Azam was granted one krur out of which only 40 lacs had been assigned in Firuzpur. His son Yusuf Muhammad Khan received a grant of one krur but the area was not assigned to him.²

Abdul Majeed Asaf Khan seems to have prepared a rent roll in which the expected produce of the soil and also the government demand were shown in kind, i.e. in grain (raqami and not in cash). It was very difficult for the jagirdar to form an accurate idea of the rent roll in grain in terms of money. Asaf Khan therefore seems to have taken liberty to inflate the value of the assigned lands. Consequently he inflated the cash value of the assignments in order to satisfy the assignees or officers. He wrote down

1 Raqami means the Jama or Rent Roll in kind and not in cash.

2 A.N.II. Eng. Tr. pp. 182-185.

imaginary figures so that the jagirdars might feel that the jagirs given to them yielded substantial income. But this was an unwise device and caused dissatisfaction. It might have served the political object for the time being but proved in the long run disadvantageous to the government, to jagirdars and above all to the ryot (people). Therefore Asaf Khan was removed from the office of Wazarat in 1562 A.D.¹ ✓

In 1563 A.D. Etmad Khan² was appointed diwan of Khalisah land. He found that besides the unreliable entries in the financial records, there was no clear line of demarcation between the ^{revenue} crown lands and jagir lands and also the unsettled state of currency gave rise to serious troubles. He, therefore, separated the ^{revenue} crown lands from the jagir lands; ordered the coins to be accepted at their face value and reorganised the finance and treasury offices. In 1564 A.D. Muzaffar Khan was made the Imperial Diwan with Todar Mal as his assistant.³

Muzaffar Khan appointed ~~men~~ qanungos to collect the actual figure of yield from the registers of the local qanungos. On the basis of these returns a fresh rent roll

1 IGBAL II P.191; AN II Tr. PP 168-69 : Rise and fall of the Mughal Empire by Dr. R.P. Tripathi. P.238.

2 The name is translated in English as Itimad Khan or Aitmad Khan or Aitimid Khan. AN II Tr. P.276-77; MT Lower P.63-64 Main vol 2 P.88.

3. TA II B De. PP 279-80; MT II Lower PP 64-65; AN II Tr. PP.305-06

known as jama-i-hasil was prepared. This, ^{too,} was too not thoroughly reliable as it was based on second hand information supplied by local qanungos. Abul Fazl however says that embezzlements came to an end. Badaoni, says that an unprecedented economy was effected in expenditure.

It is however certain that no change was made in the system of assessment and in the mode of recording the state's share of the produce which continued to be shown in kinds of grains. As the state did not yet make an arrangement for the measurement of land by its own officials and also failed to utilize the records of the Patwaris in the villages, the rent roll (hal-i-hasil) prepared by Muzaffar Khan in 1566 A.D. did not fully correspond to the actual revenue but in 1567 A.D. he made a substantial reform. Under Akbar's orders he abolished the system of recording the state demand in kind that is in terms of the produce of the soil (jama-i-raqami-qalami)¹ and laid the foundations of a fresh Jama in cash. As a result of his efforts, the state demand was henceforth commuted into cash not on an uniform basis but on that of the prices current in different localities.

1 Jama-i-raqami-qalami means the state demand in kind as recorded in government papers. It was applicable to the khalisah territory as well as to the jagir lands and not merely to the latter as Moreland seems to think. ANU Tr. PP 403.04 ; Ain I Bloch P. 373 ; Rise and fall of the Mughal Empire P. 238.

In 1568 A.D. Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan was made the Diwan of the crown lands. He found that the method of collecting annually the figures of yield and prices besides being expensive and defective, had become unmanagable with the expansion of the empire. He, therefore, abolished the system of Zabti-harsala or the fixing of demand rates annually and established the Nasq system which involved a mutual settlement between the state and the zamindars or holders of lands. It was a sort of farming. This system was arbitrary and far from being satisfactory.¹

In 1570-71 A.D. Muzaffar Khan was again appointed Imperial Diwan. Now new assessment rates were prepared for each paragana and were based on the actual produce of the soil. The system extended to include the jagir lands which had till that time been outside the scope of the experiment. The nasq was abandoned and the schedules of assessment rates were prepared on the basis of the measurement of land and ascertainment of the actual produce by the government officials. The credit goes to Rajah Todar Mal for these reforms.²

After the conquest of Gujarat and Bengal Akbar gave his personal attention to revenue matters. The first step in this direction was the extension of the khalisah land and the proportionate reduction of the jagir land. In the

1. AN-II TV. P. 488

2. Rise and fall of the Mughal Empire P. 239.

12th Regnal year (1567 A.D.), Munim Khan had been given the jagirs of Ali Quli Khan and Bahadur Khan in Jaunpur, Benaras and Ghazipur upto the banks of the river Chausa.¹ In August-September, 1574 A.D. Jaunpur, Benaras, Chunar and the country upto Karamnasa was brought under the direct management of the officers of the crown or in other words made the crown land (Exchequer land). Munim Khan who was the governor of Jaunpur and held a part of the province in jagir was transferred to Bihar and Razawi Khan was placed in charge of the Khalisah (crown) territory from Jaunpur to Karamnasa.² Thereafter one province after another was gradually included in the Khalisah and by the end of 1575 A.D. most of the empire, excluding Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat and the principalities of the tributary chiefs (who had submitted and were allowed to retain possession of them) became converted into the crown land. This meant the gradual reduction in the extent of the assigned land or jagir land. But the jagir system though discouraged was not altogether abolished.³

In the crown lands of the empire were appointed 182 karoris. Each Karori was to have his jurisdiction over a territory yielding one krur of tankahs or 2,50,000 Rupees.⁴

1. A.N.II. Eng. Tr. p. 436.

2. Maasir-i-Rahimi, VolXII. p. 821.

3. "Akbar's Resumption of Jagirs : 1575 - a re-examination" An article by Mahendra Pal Singh. I.H.C. 1966 ; ANIII Tr. P. 166

4. 182 collectors, (a mil) were sent off to take charge of the crown land, They were popularly known as Karoris. ANIII Tr. P. 167 ; Ain I Block P. 13 ; Jarrett II p. 43.

He was required to settle the boundaries of land under his jurisdiction, to record different sources of revenue and the amount derived from each of them and each kind of crop. He was also to enquire into the titles of the assignees and ascertain the total area under assignment in his jurisdiction.

Monserette writes, "The king takes great care, in the assignment of territories, to grant each noble a district large enough to enable him to maintain due state dignity and to support properly his share of the military forces."¹

No piece of land permanently remained under khalisah land or jagir land. Transfer from jagir land to khalisah and vice versa was common. In one of the letters written to Abdur Rahim Khan-i-khanan he was asked to ascertain whether the jagir of the Shahzadah (Prince) could be made khalisah or not. He was also advised to transfer jagirs in such a way that no inconvenience is caused to the holder.² Often when a new work was assigned, a new jagir was given there for convenience.³ ✓

1 Monserrate's Commentaries (Cuttuck, 1922) p.89.

2 Har-Seh Daftor-i-Abul Fazl (Mustafai Press Lucknow, 1299, pp. 124-125). ✓

3 In the 18th R.Y. Muzaffar Khan was given the administration of Ujjain and Sarangpur in Malwa. He was given as jagir in tankwah there to the value of 2 krur 50 lac.
Maasir-i-Rahimi, vol I, p.790.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAGIRS

For some years during the early period of Akbar's reign, the jagirs were supposed to have been permanent and the assignees collected land revenue and other taxes from their respective territories in accordance with rules made by them. This system was open to abuse and therefore in 1568 A.D. or the 13th Regnal Year, Akbar followed the policy of transfer of jagirs or jagirdars from ~~the~~ one province to another. It now became necessary to determine in case of each jagirdar or assignee an area which could yield a revenue equivalent to his pay. The jama of these territories was revised from time to time in accordance with the changes made by Akbar in his revenue regulations. The assignees were not to realize more than the revenue fixed for their respective jagirs and the dastur-ul-amal became binding on them.¹ ✓

After the appointments of the Karoris, the administration of the jagir or assigned lands including revenue collection passed from jagirdars to the hands of the officers appointed by the central government from those of the assignees or their agents. But the most important reform for which Akbar deserves credit was the introduction of the Dah-Salah or the Ten Year Schedule of Rates.² Such

1 A.N. Vol.III, p. 381.

(2. Ibid p. 413

parganas in each provinces as were homogenous in productivity were grouped into assessment circles and a schedule of rates was fixed for each of them. Although the basis of assessment was the usual one third of the produce in kind, yet for commuting the demand in cash an average of prices was struck from the prices believed to have prevailed or recorded during the ten years preceding 1580 A.D. The demand in cash was fixed and it was not left to the fluctuations of yields and prices as before. On the basis of past ten years produce the average yield per bigha of each kind of land (all the cultivable land was classified into four kinds)¹ in respect of every crop was ascertained separately for every pargana. The state charged one-third of the average produce. The state demand in kind was commuted in cash. For this purpose Akbar divided his entire empire into many dasturs. All the places in a dastur were supposed to have uniform prices for each kind of corn. An average of last ten years prices in respect of each kind of crop was ascertained separately for each dastur. There were separate schedules of prices of different kinds of corn and the schedule of prices differed from dastur to dastur.

1 Polaj land was always cultivated. Paruti land too was almost always cultivated but left fallow for a year or two in order to recuperate its fertility, chacher land had to be left uncultivated for 3 or 4 years. Banjar land had to be left fallow for 5 years or more.

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Abul Fazl writes in Akbarnama "The essence of this innovation was that the state of ~~every~~ pargana for the (last) ten years (hal-i-dahsala) in regard to the categories of cultivation and the prices of the produce, was ascertained and one-tenth there of was fixed as the annual revenue (mal-i-harsala)".¹ It will be utterly wrong to presume that the Dah Sala system involved anything like the decennial settlement or settlement after every ten years. Nor it can be called a permanent settlement because the state gave no guarantee for its immutability. In practice, however, the arrangement was not disturbed till the end of Akbar's reign.²

The Dah Sala settlement finally fixed by the government was originally introduced in the Khalisah territory but was introduced in jagir lands also in 1581-82 A.D. Hence forward the jagirdars were not permitted to administer their jagirs as they liked. The final settlement was applied to the whole country both to the ~~crown~~ land and jagir lands.³ Now the collection of revenue of the jagir lands was to be made by the government officers or collectors and

1 A.N. III Tr. PP 413-14 Ain II Jariat P. 88

2 R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, p. 240; Also see Akbar the Great by Dr. A.L. Srivastava, Vol. II, pp 179-180.

3. A.N. III Tr. PP 561-62

not by the assignees though the latter had their agents to look after their concerns in their jagirs. Thus a uniform system of administration was established in the Khalisah and jagir lands. ✓

By the year 1581-82 A.D. the number of assignments of lands was considerably reduced and cash payments to the officers became the rule. The jagir lands were converted into Khalisah land. But after the rebellion of 1580-83 A.D. the jagir system was revived and as before most of the high officers were given jagirs in lieu of salaries. Nevertheless, the management of their jagirs, including the collection of revenue continued to be in the hands of the government officers i.e. amalguzars, amins and other local dignitaries. ✓

Often the jagirdars remained absent from their jagirs and their agents looked after them. Syed Hamid Bokhari died in a battle against the Tarikis in 1585 A86 A.D. He was the jagirdar of Peshawar and he had gone there as he had the charge of guarding (the road to) Afghanistan. His soldiers went back to the jagir in India and he was negligently passing his time with a few companions in the fort of Bikram. He gave the administration of his jagir to one named Musa. Musa from greed pressed heavily on these

tribes and they rebelled.¹ Bairam Khan was given Qandahar in jagir but he left it entirely in the hands of one Shah Mohammad Khan who looked after its administration.²

In the 46th Regnal Year Mirza Aziz Kokah received Junagarh in jagir and his son Khurram was sent there to look after it.³ Mirza Rustam had been given Multan in jagir in the 38th Regnal Year. When in the 40th R.Y. his agents in Multan cast away^h the thread of justice, Multan was made crown-land and given to Khwajah Muqim.⁴

1 A.N.III.Tr. pp. 777-78; Ain I, Blochmann, p. 434.

2 Ain I, Bloch. p. 448.

3 A.N. Vol.III(Tr.)p. 1184.

4 Ibid., p.1041; About the administration of jagirs, Palsaert writes that nothing could be kept secret. The officers could not keep their belongings secret even if they wished to do so. As a rule all the possessions of the lords(nobles) and their transactions, are not secret, but perfectly well known, for each one has his diwan (Steward), through whose hands everything passes; he has many subordinates and for work that could be done by one man they have ten here, and each of them has some definite charge, for which he must account(when the lord dies), all these subordinates are arrested and compelled to show from their books and papers where all the cash and property is deposited and how his master's income has been disposed of and if there is any suspicion about their disclosures they are tortured until they tell the truth. Jahangir's India, by Palsaert Tr. Moreland, pp. 54-55. We often come across the word diwan who looked after the transactions and the agents who managed the jagirs. Shah Mansur Shirazi was the diwan of Munim Khan's Sarkar (Iqbal II, p. 287.)

TRANSFER OF JAGIRS

Akbar did not allow the great nobles¹ reside for long in one place and in order to prevent their abusing their power, he himself appointed the judges and the governors of the cities and towns, who had to report him how the great nobles ^{behaved} ~~believed~~.¹

In 1568 A.D. Akbar took steps to transfer the jagirdars. The first step in this direction was the dislodgement of the members of the Atgah family from their jagirs in the Punjab. All jagirs, except watan jagirs were by nature transferable. Akbar followed a policy of frequent transfers. He made it a principle that no person should have the same jagir for a long period. The main purpose was that the jagirdar might not develop close relations with the local militia in course of time and afterwards with their cooperation rebel against the central authority and declare independence. The system of jagir transfer was very necessary for the unity and cohesion of the empire. Only by these transfers could the nobles be prevented from developing local relations and growing into local potentates. Therefore, the nobles could not call any part of the empire their own and remained entirely dependent on the will of the emperor. No period seems to have been fixed for such assignments

1 Monserrate's Commentarius, p.90.

The practice of frequent transfer of jagirs had certain complications. For purposes of transfer it was assumed that kharif and Rabi crops were of equal value everywhere except in Bengal and Orissa. But since in fact the Rabi and Kharif harvests were hardly of equal value anywhere, the jagirdar had to suffer heavily. The transfers which sometimes took place in the harvest season or mid year were not only inconvenient but also caused hardship and loss to the jagirdar. Moreover, they were obliged to bear the risk of fluctuations in revenue collections. It even caused friction and sometimes hostility among the jagirdars. Sometimes the jagirdars were required to collect the previous arrears and send them to the treasury. Another reason for jagir transfer was that when a mansabdar was sent to a particular province, he had to be assigned a jagir there and similarly those recalled from there would require jagir elsewhere.¹ ✓

Akbar tried to mitigate the evils of the jagirdari system as far as he could by the system of frequent transfers. He also allowed the jagirdars the benefit of increase in

1 In the 12th R.Y. Munim Khan was given Jaunpur, Benaras, Ghazipur etc. in jagir but when in the 19th R.Y. (1574-75 A.D.) he was appointed for the conquest of Bengal, in order to soothe him in his work and to assist him in his work he was given a jagir in Bihar.
A.N. III(Tr.)p.144. ✓

revenue brought about by their good administration.¹

The system was nevertheless injurious to the interests of the ryots. Though bound by the schedule of rates the jagirdars sometimes extorted more than the fixed rates from the cultivators. This evil too was removed when the government collectors began to collect revenue in the jagir lands.

The Emperor made an appointment, promotion or ordered the transfer of jagirs from one province to another and the order went to the revenue ministry to be carried out. Allocation was the work of the revenue ministry. The frequency of appointments and promotions required an allocation of an appropriate assignment; while each transfer involved a series of adjustments, because an officer recalled from Punjab to serve in Bihar would often prefer or might on occasion be required to exchange his assignment in the Punjab for one in Bihar. Before leaving the old jagir the jagirdar would naturally be interested in realizing as much revenue as possible and will be busy making interest and

1 Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan died in Ujjain in 1590 A.D. Akbar in order to sympathise with the relatives of his great noble Shihabuddin, made Muhibb Ali Khan diwan of Malwa and left Shihabuddin's jagirs to his servants. Shihabuddin had done much in the development of cultivation.

A.N. III(Tr.) p. 885.

sometimes offered bribes in order to secure his object.¹

Sometimes the nobles themselves made requests for jagirs according to their choice and often their request was accepted by the emperor. Sometimes the nobles were given choice to choose the jagir according to their liking. In the 41st Regnal Year Multan was given in jagir to the Khan-i-Aazm. As he wanted to make amends for his former misconduct in going to Meccah, he asked for a jagir near the court and his request was granted.² Earlier when in the 39th Regnal Year he had come back from the Hijaz and went to court, Akbar had made him a Panjhazari (mansabdar of 5000) and named him the Khan-i-Aazm. It was left to his choice as to whether he should take his jagirs in Gujerat, or in the Punjab or in Bihar etc. He chose Bihar. His sons were also given mansabs and received jagirs in Bihar.³ In the

1 Hawkins describes the constant changes in assignments in his time so that everything depended on how a man was "befriended of the Wazir". Early Travels, p. 115.
In the 25th Regnal Year Khan-i-Azam was given Hajipur in Jagir by an order from the court but as Shahabaz Khan Kambu reached Patna before Khan-i-Aazm, he wished to collect the income of that place and instead of giving it to Khan-i-Aazm, he himself attracted a number of persons to his side by giving them high mansabs and jagirs. Rajah Todar Mal advised Shahabaz Khan to get rid of the evil intentions but he was not ready. To avoid any confrontation, Khan-i-Aazm and the Rajah left the matter and went to Tirhut. The real aim was to be away from Shahbaz Khan. Iqbal II, p. 338.

2 A.N.Vol.III(Tr.)p.1068.

3 A.N.Vol.III(Tr.) p. 1006; Iqbal II, p. 443.

19th Regnal Year Munim Khan was given jagir in Bengal at his own request. Earlier when Akbar had gone to Eastern Provinces his jagirs had been ~~ex~~ allotted in Bihar (19th Regnal Year). Now when peace was established in Bengal, Munim Khan sent Khwajah Shah Mansur of Shiraz to court and asked for a jagir in Bengal. Akbar accepted his request.¹

Watan Jagirs

The watan jagirs came into existence from the admission of Zamindars or territorial chiefs into the imperial service. These zamindars or chiefs entered the Mughal service and received mansabs and their old dominions were left to them as their watan jagirs. The Watan jagirs were non transferable and its holder enjoyed autonomous authority within the jagir. Theoretically the emperor was entitled to determine the succession to a watan jagir but in practice Akbar did not much interfere in the succession of the hereditary chiefs.² He neither took away nor resumed

1 A.N.Vol.III(Tr.) pp. 144,164; Iqbal II, p. 287. The jagirs were sometimes allotted to a person from the land which was not under the imperial control perhaps as an incentive to conquer the place. We find in the 23rd Regnal Year the Emperor Akbar told Mirza Yusuf Khan that Kashmir was given to him and he will stay in his house when he would visit that place. After 12 years from this event, when the Kashmir was conquered, it was given in jagir to Mirza Yusuf Khan and the emperor stayed in his house. Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.II. pp. 858-59.

2 Though Akbar generally did not interfere in the hereditary succession of the Rajput states, he did not interfere where his interests were endangered. Duda, the elder son of Rai Surjan Hara who had entered the imperial service did not like the Muslim service and joined Maharana Udai Singh(sometimes called Rajah Udai Singh). Akbar did not

any part of the watan jagirs from a ruling dynasty.¹ It seems that Jama of the watan jagir was considered to be equal to the pay of the mansabdar but since the watan jagirs were autonomous units, this calculation was arbitrary. If the jama of watan jagirs exceeded the pay due on rank of the mansabdar, there were two alternatives to adjust it. Either the rank of the mansabdar be increased to make his pay equal to the jama or the jama be reduced to equal the pay for his existing rank. In either case no one else could be assigned a share in his watan jagir.²

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like this and he declared Bhoj (who afterwards got the title of Rai and was known as Rai Bhoj), the younger son of Rai Surjan Hara, the master of the gaddi of Bundh. Duda became unhappy and fought several battles with the imperial forces with the help of the Maharana's forces. Vir Vinod by Kaviraj Shyamaldas Ji, pp. 108-9, 146.
AN III Tr. PP 284-86

- 1 Akbar had no intention of interfering with the succession in Mewar, inspite of Jagmal's presence at court. In February 1572 A.D. when Rana Udai Singh of Mewar died, Jagmal ascended the throne according to the wish of the Rana who had nominated his favourite son Jagmal to the throne of Mewar in preference to his eldest son Pratap Singh. But the maternal uncle of Pratap, Rai Akhiraj, Rajah of Jalore, and the ex-Rajah of Gwaliyar, in consultation with the leading chiefs of Mewar dethroned Jagmal and installed Pratap Singh on the throne by a coup. He was known as Rana Pratap, Jagmal then left Mewar and went to Akbar's court and received a jagir.

— Vir Vinod by Kaviraj Shyamaldas ji.

2. The Govt. of such territories was vested in nobles on condition that they pay some stated tribute to the royal treasury. Monumats P. 89.

If the holders of watan jagirs received an increase in their ranks or mansabs or if from the very beginning the pay of the rank conferred upon them did not fully met from the jama of their watan jagir, they were given ordinary tankhwah jagirs in addition, to their watan jagirs. Watan jagirs were hereditary in character and were held permanently by the members belonging to the same ruling dynasty. Non-Zamindars did not normally had any place as watan jagirs.¹

The watan jagirs sometimes made the nobles disloyal and somnolent because they considered it as their hereditary homeland and found there a repose from the hectic activity. When Rai Rai Singh in the 41st Regnal Year was excluded from presence in the court for sometime, he went off to his watan jagir in Bikanir of which he was the zamindar. Later on he was appointed to Deccan. He spent sometime in Bikanir and afterwards on the road. Therefore ~~Shah~~ Salahauddin was sent from court to awake him from somnolence. In the end Akbar seeing that he would not go to his employment, called him to court.² He came and had no

1 As a concession to these mansabdars, Jahangir instituted al-tamgha jagirs to be held permanently. But these jagirs were confined to the place of birth or perhaps the family seat of the noble concerned and cannot be compared with the great ancestral dominions of the Rajput chiefs.

2 Ain I, Bloch, p.385.

proper answer for his waywardness, he was for sometime not granted permission to appear at court.¹

Similarly in the 45th Regnal year of Akbar's reign Dalpat, the son of Rai Rai Singh who had attained the rank of nobility, while serving in Deccan, ran away from his duty when Muzaffar Husain Mirza in consequence of his differences with Khwajagi Fathullah had fled, Dalpat outwardly went away to pursue him but in fact took it as a pretext to run away and went to Bikanir and caused disturbances there. Rai Rai Singh, his father got leave to go to his home to amend his ways and ^{was} sent to Bikanir. In the 46th Regnal Year Rai Rai Singh brought him to court and he was pardoned.²

Jagirdars and the Peasants

Bernier says, "The timariots (Bernier's term for jagirdars), governors and revenue contractors on their part reason in this manner. Why should the neglected state of this land create uneasiness in our minds? And why should we spend

1 A.N.Vol.III(Tr.) pp. 1068-69; Again in the reign of Jahangir when the Emperor appointed him in charge of the harem during his march against Khusran when the latter rebelled, Rai Rai Singh left the harem on the way and ran away to his home in Bikanir. But in the second Regnal Year (1606-7 A.D.) when Jahangir came back from Kabul Rai Rai Singh appeared before him with a putta round his neck, to be ready to suffer punishment for his guilt, he was pardoned and restored to his old position.
Ain I, Block. p. 386; Tuzuk Vol.I, pp. 130-31.

2 Ain I. Block, pp. 385-86.

our money and time to render it fruitful? We may be deprived of it in a single moment, and would benefit neither ourselves nor our children. Let us draw from the soil all the money we can, though the peasant should starve or abscond and we shall leave it, when commanded to quit, a deary wilderness."¹

There is no doubt that a jagirdar who had no permanent interest in his jagir could be tempted to oppress the peasants and get as much as he could from them. This state of affairs can be true particularly in the beginning of the reign when jagirdars were given such jagirs whose estimated revenue on paper was far more than the actual revenue. The jagirdars must have tried to get utmost revenue from the peasants to get the pay to which they were entitled.

But Akbar was concerned not only with immediate and personal acquisitions of his nobles but also with the long term prosperity of the empire. Had the jagirdars demanded from the peasants every thing worth taking, the ultimate loss would have fallen on the empire. In case the peasants were starved to death and the cultivation fell off,

1. Bernier, p. 227.

the revenue resources of the empire would have declined and the foundations of the empire shaken. Akbar being a shrewd politician was very much concerned about the happiness of the peasants and he went a step further than Shershah in reducing the sufferings of the peasants by abolishing a number of cesses fixed upon them.¹ In 1585 A.D. it was ordered by the emperor that the rule giving receipts to the peasants for payments made by them should be strictly enforced with a view to prevent embezzlement by the collectors as well as to safeguard the interests of the peasants.

1 Shershah had fixed one third of the produce as the state demand and charged jaribana, mahabilona and insurance tax in addition. Akbar did not charge from the peasantry jaribana, mahasilana and insurance tax. As for the Europeans knew that the incidence of land tax was higher under Akbar than under the British Rule, it should be noted that he did not recognise the existence of zamindars and the produce of the land was shared between the government and the cultivator. He, like Shershah, established direct relations between the peasants and the state. Under the zamindari system which was in force in many parts of the country under the British rule the zamindars charged $\frac{1}{2}$ of the produce from the cultivators while under Akbar the peasantry had to pay only $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the produce. Dr. Ashirvedi lal says that tradition as well as evidence confirms that the peasantry was better off under Akbar than at any time under the British Rule in this country. See The Mughal Empire by Dr. A.L. Srivastava, p.213. Also See Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire by R.P.Tripathi, p. 242. He says that Akbar relieved the peasants of a number of vexatious taxes and cesses. Besides the jaziya and the zakat and the pilgrimage tax, he abolished taxes on sale of cattle, oxen, salt, markets, turbans, lodging etc.

The policy of Akbar was to encourage the cultivators to raise the lower quality of land to the higher and extend cultivation of superior crops. Therefore, he taxed the chachar and Banjar classes of land lightly till in the course of few years it came to the Polaj quality when the normal rates could be charged. Akbar made remissions of taxes in cases of famines, natural calamities or dislocation of prices. He also gave advances to the poor peasants to enable them to purchase seeds, implements and cattle. His policy of maintaining free pastures must have been welcomed by the peasants. ✓

Akbar evolved a system which had an element of permanence and was intelligible to the peasants. The state demand was fixed and the collectors had not to wait for the orders of the central government. Fixing of the state demand also relieved the peasants of the anxiety caused by uncertainty and suspense. As soon as the harvest was ready, the collectors started their work and the peasants had the satisfaction that nothing was charged in excess from them. ✓ Thus the system was convenient both to the peasants and the revenue collectors. It must have come as a boon to the peasants who must have heaved a sigh of relief on being freed from the caprices and whims of the zamindars and the jagirdars. ✓

The conditions of the period suggests that peasants under a jagirdar would ordinarily pay as much as, but not much more than the peasants of the crown land.¹ Dr. Ashirwadi Lal Srivastava thinks that the jagirdari system was injurious to the interests of the peasants, though bound by the schedule of rates the assignees (jagirdars) sometimes extorted more than the fixed rates from the peasants. The jagirdar was not punished in proportion to the irregularities committed by him; he was at the most transferred to another jagir.²

However, Akbar tried to mitigate the evils of jagirdari system and he was overvigilant to punish the jagirdars for their mistakes without fear or favour. Even the great amirs like Shaikh Abul Fazl, Rajah Bhagwan Das, Rajah Man Singh and Rajah Todar Mal could not escape punishment for their lapses.³ Revenue collectors were severely dealt with for their oppressive conduct. Therefore, it can safely be presumed that the regulations were faithfully observed by the jagirdars in normal circumstances because the

1 See The Agrarian System of Moslem India by Moreland, p.92.

2 See Akbar the Great, Vol.II by Dr. A.L.Srivastava.

3 In the 41st R.Y. Rai Rai Singh (a great noble) was admitted to audience. One of ^{his} favourite servants practised oppression. Akbar, ^{called} for an explanation. That wicked one was for sometime excluded from performing the kornish as he kept the matter concealed and reported that the servant had fled. Akbar remembered his former graciousness to him and sent him to the Deccan. A.N.D. Tr. p. 1068

jagirdars were not only checked and controlled by the imperial government but were also quite dependent on it for carrying on the management of their jagirs. The imperial administration undertook the protection of the jagirdars particularly in the management of their jagirs and safeguarded their interests in the collection of revenues.

Jagirdars and The Zamindars

Zamindar literally means 'Sahib-i-Zamin' or master of the land. There were various kinds of Zamindars. Some Zamindars actually cultivated the land they owned whereas the others leased the land to the cultivators. The various tributary chiefs and autonomous Rajahs were also called Zamindars.¹ ✓

Abul Fazl says that the Zamindars of the country furnish more than four million from hundred thousand men.² ✓ It seems that the figure represent the total number of the army sent by the zamindars. In Akbar's time many Zamindars entered the imperial service. But there were other Zamindars who did not join the Mughal service, yet sent an annual tribute to show there allegiance towards him and sometimes sent armies for his help to show their loyalty.³ Akbar was

1 The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb P. 12 ✓

2 Ain I. Bloch, Tr. p. 241 (Ain I Book II).

3 Rajah Ali Khan of Khanderoh often assisted the Mughal Army when ever ✓ d. came to Deccan even when he had not joined the Mughal service

content with their submission and did not ^{exa}~~exa~~ct much service from them. But as Akbar was interested in giving political unity to the country whenever the Zamindars misbehaved or showed reluctance or unwillingness to submit, he annexed their estates with the display of military power.

Here it should be cleared that not only the Hindu Rajahs or the Rajput chiefs came in the category of the Zamindari but also the Muslims who were the hereditary owners of the land and belonged to the group of Indian Muslims were Zamindars. In Akbar's reign Kamal Khan Gakhar who was a great noble and the owner of the Gakhar country (included in ~~the~~ empire of Akbar) was a Zamindar. Similarly Rajah Ali Khan of Khandesh who entered the Mughal service was a Zamindar though he was a great noble under Akbar.

It seems that ~~every~~ every locality had some land under Zamindars while the rest was held by peasants and they had no Zamindars as intermediaries. A jagirdar had normally to deal with both peasants and Zamindars in his jagir. Akbar considered the peasants the owners of the land. This gave them an incentive to increase production and saved them from the atrocities of the Zamindars. A jagirdar had to deal with the peasants directly. But in the cases where the land was held by the Zamindars and they themselves cultivated the land, they owned, the jagirdars had to deal with the Zamindar directly. Thus normally a jagirdar had to deal with both the peasants and the zamindars in his jagir.

Sometimes the nobles entered into matrimonial alliances with the local Zamindars and established bonds of friendship with them¹ and the Zamindars on their part helped the jagirdars in case of any rebellion in the jagir. In the 35th Regnal Year Rajah Man Singh was sent to Bihar. The Zamindar named Puran Mal of Gidhaur was acting with presumption and self will there. The Rajah went to his dwelling and obtained much plunder. Puran Mal could not protect the fort. He had resort to entreaties and asked for protection. He produced noted elephants and choice goods and uttered thanks giving. He gave his daughter in marriage to the Rajah's brother, Chandra Bhan. From there he proceeded to attack another Zamindar Rajah Sangram. He submitted and came forward in proper manner and presented elephants and the rarities of the country to the Rajah.²

In the 21st R.Y. Shahbaz Khan was a great noble under Akbar, was sent against Gajpati who was one of the noted Zamindars of Bihar. He used always to be associated with the imperial army and had rendered good service in the conquest of Bengal. For some insufficient reasons he took a short of leave and went off to his own country. At the time of Bengal rebellion he sought help from Khan-i-Jahan³ but when the latter

1 In 1597 A.D. Rajah Man Singh, a great amir under Akbar who himself belonged to the class of Zamindars, made Rajah Laxami Narayan Das, the Rajah of Kutch obedient (he was a zamindar) and himself married his sister.

Vir Vinod, p. 1282.

2 A.N.III (Tr.) p. 872.

3 An III Tr. p. 240 ; Bayazid, 10, MS, p 135 a ; An B Pool PS13

passed with his army through his premises Gajapati from evil nature went aside and had not the fecility of accompanying him. Evil disposed and self-interested men gathered round him and he plundered towns and cities. When he came to Arrah, Farhat Khan, the jagirdar thereof did not deem it expedient to engage in battle with him and shut himself up in the fort. Gajapati also entered into negotiations with Daud Afghan and imprisoned Peshran Khan who was proceeding from the capital to Bengal. Farhat Khan and his son Qarataq died in the battle against him.¹ ✓

In the 28th R.Y. Muhammad Zaman, who was an amir of the rank of 1000, went to attack Jaliya, one of the great zamindars of Malwa. The Zamindar had recourse to supplications and sent presents and ratified the promise of good service. Muhammad Zaman from inexperience and cupidity forgot the new treaty and plundered the towns of Mahriya and Devgarh (both in the Malwa). Then he proceeded towards Surat. But on the way, when he was engaged in a drinking party, the zamindar utilised the opportunity and killed mohammad Zaman.² ✓

A general under Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan named Murad Khan about 982 A.H. (invaded Fathabad (or Faridpur) and conquered it as well as Sarkar Bogla. This Murad Khan died

1 A.N.III(Tr.)pp. 239-241.

2 Ibid., p. 637.

at Fathabad (or Faridpur) in 988 A.H. (1580-81 A.D.) and Mukund the Zamindar of Fathabad and Bhosna invited Murad's sons to a feast and treacherously murdered them.¹

The usual practice of revenue collection from the Zamindars seems to be that the land under a Zamindar was summarily assessed and the revenue was collected from him directly by the jagirdar or his agents without any reference to the peasants. A heavy assessment could deprive a zamindar of his income and in that case it is possible that he might have used his armed retainers to defy the jagirdar. Therefore, the jagirdars had to deal with such recalcitrant zamindars also. But in some cases we find that the jagirdars established friendly relations with the zamindars of the jagir and whenever the jagirdar was in trouble or some rebellious persons attacked him, the zamindars of his locality protected him and opposed the invaders whereas in some cases the zamindars became hostile to the jagirdar and went over to the side of the invaders against their own jagirdars. Therefore it depended solely on the jagirdars how they treated the zamindars.

In some cases we find the zamindars helping the imperial cause to show their obedience. For example if a

1 Riyaz-us-salatin, History of Bengal by Ghulam Husain Tr. by Maulawi Abdus Salam, p. 155, Ain I Bloch. p. 318; M.T., Badaoni, pp. 178, 180. Mukund laid hold of the estate afterwards.
AN III T. P 469.

jagirdar rebelled against the central authority or showed negligence towards the imperial orders, the Emperor sent imperial agents (sazawals) to bring the jagirdar to the right path, the zamindars helped the imperial officers. Perhaps they were fearful of the fact that if the jagirdar would be attacked, their land would be devastated and the jagirdar will only be arrested or transferred or punished for his misbehaviour but they will be the ultimate losers. This was one of the advantages of the jagir transfers. But the tactful jagirdars often used the zamindars as a powerful weapon to suppress oppression and unlawfulness and thereby strengthened their authority with their help.

Being a practical statesman Akbar allowed various modes of collection of revenues such as ghallabakhshi or batai, nasq or kankut and zabti or naqdi to prevail in different localities.¹ The settlement was made directly with the peasants and was therefore like Sher Shah's system Ryotwari when the agreement was made in a summary fashion, requiring no measurement of land, no division of crops between the government and the holders of the land, either tenants or zamindars, in the former case it would be called

1 For these systems of assessment see, Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire by Dr. R.P. Tripathi, pp. 241-42; Akbar the Great Vol. II by Dr. A.L. Srivastava, pp. 185-188; Shershah and his successors by Dr. A.L. Srivastava, pp. 73-74.

ryotwari and in the latter zamindari. Akbar established Ryotwari system in his empire even when the agreement was made with the zamindars, it was not zamindari system but ryotwari because the zamindars were treated as holders of land and not as intermediaries between the peasants and the government. Therefore, so far the revenue collection was concerned, the peasants and the zamindars were treated on the same footing by the jagirdars.

When the landholder or a ruler of a particular place surrendered, he was not essentially given his estate or area in jagir. Sometimes his estate was converted into the khalisah land and an imperial officer was appointed to administer it. When Rai Surjan Hara of Ranthambhor surrendered to the emperor Akbar and joined the imperial service, he was given the parganas of Chunar garh in jagir and an imperial officer Mihtar Khan was appointed to administer Ranthambhor.¹

Monserate writes "The king takes great care in the assignment of territories, to grant each noble a district large enough to enable him to maintain due state and dignity and to support properly his share of the military forces."²

1 Vir Vinod by Kaviraj Shyamaldas ji, pp. 85-86. L

2 Monserate's Commentarius (Cuttuck, 1922), p.89.

"It is an old established practice and custom that territories acquired by war are not given by the king to anyone in perpetual right," says Monserrate, "but (after a certain amount of revenue has been assessed on them for the king's treasury) they are made over as provinces to be governed by leading men. These then distribute the cities, towns and villages among their troops and pay them either from the lands assigned to them or from the revenue. For the king sees to it most carefully that each one of them shall receive provinces which are sufficient for the forces under his orders to live respectably and without poverty; so that one who has two regiments is assigned a more productive province than one who has a single regiment only."¹

It may be mentioned here that the word 'province' is not to be taken in the precise sense of the Suba but rather as denoting in a general way a portion of the empire.² Monserrate was taken by surprise to see Akbar's system because he was accustomed to a hereditary nobility with dukes or counts or barons created on the occasion of each territorial conquests ^{He found that Akbar organized his conquests} in provinces, assessed them to revenue and then assigned them for a time to his officers. That is the precise description of the system disclosed in the chronicles of the period and his further observation that

1 Monserrate on Akbar's Army by Moreland, J. I. H. April 1936,

pp 50-51

2. Ibid. p. 52

Akbar took great pains to ensure that assignments were appropriate is entirely in accordance with the story of valuation of the empire.¹ ✓

The statement that an officer sub-assigned his assignment among his troops is one which though ~~do~~ not reflected in contemporary sources, was certainly the practice at some later periods. Therefore, there is no difficulty in believing that the practice was in force under Akbar. Incidentally, it may be remarked that Monserrate does not assert that sub assignment was universal. Some troops were so paid but others were paid from the revenue collected by the principal assignee.² ✓

Fiscal Rights of The Jagirdars

During the Mughal rule a jagirdar was permitted to realise only his sanctioned income and was required to refund any sums which they might have collected in excess of their sanctioned income to the treasury.³ But there ✓

1 The Agrarian System of Moslem India (Cambridge 1929, Chapter IV) by Moreland. ✓

2 See the article 'Monserrate on Akbar's Army' by Moreland, Journal of Indian History, April, 1936, pp. 50-53.

3 The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, by M. AtharAli, p. 77; The Agrarian System of Moslem India by Moreland, pp. 92, 98. ✓

no evidence to prove that this practice was followed in Akbar's reign. It is possible that the practice of recovery developed gradually as an alternative to frequent revisions of the valuation.

No other right except that of collecting the land revenue and the other taxes sanctioned by the government was delegated to the jagirdar as jagirdar. This right too he was expected to exercise in conformity with the imperial regulations. Land revenue in the jagir was to be assessed and collected according to the procedure, set forth by the imperial order. The jagirdars had to employ their own agents to collect the revenue and other taxes within their jagirs. The chief agent of the jagirdar was the amil also known as Shiqdar. When the jagirdar went to court or on an expedition, he sometimes appointed his son or near relation as his deputy in his jagir to look after its administration. But in case he had no son or any other person, his agents looked after the jagir in his absence. Sometimes these agents did not care for the interests of the jagirdar and committed cruelties on its inhabitants. In such cases the emperor often sent the concerned jagirdar to his jagir to set it in order.

ESCHEATS

The claim of the king over the possessions and riches accumulated by his officers dates from an early period in the Mohammadan history. The introduction of slavery provided the Abbasid/caliphs a legal pretext for claiming the property of their officers. The property acquired by a slave, under shariat always belonged to his master in the life time as well as after the death of the slave.

Modern European writers are of the opinion that Akbar and his successors seized cash and other property of their deceased nobles and according to the Mughal law all their property lapsed to the state. Monserrate writes, "He (Akbar) also derives much revenue from the hoarded fortunes of the great nobles which by law and custom alike come to the king on their owner's death."¹ Among the nearly contemporary to Akbar's reign another foreign traveller, Purchas mentions, "the custom of their Mughal emperor (Jahangir) is to take possession of his nobles treasure when they die, and to bestow on their children what he pleaseth, but commonly he dealeth well with them and unto the eldest son he hath a very great respect who in time receiveth the

¹ Monserrate's Commentarius, p. 207. ✓

full title of his father."¹ ✓ Bernier, Mannuci and other travellers expressed the same opinion.²

But Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar is of the opinion that although the property of the deceased noble was attached and deposited in a special section of the royal treasury, called the Bait-ul-mal, it did not altogether lapse to the state. Most of the Mughal nobles and officials, if not all, were in debt to the government and their accounts both in regard to their salaries and advances which they had drawn from the royal treasury had to be settled before their cash and effects could be restored to their heirs. Sometimes it took years to reach final settlement and, therefore, pending it the property of these deceased nobles remained in the state treasury. Sir Jadunath Sarkar ~~xx~~ says, "It would, in my opinion, be unhistoric to suppose that these escheats were originally due to a wicked desire of the autocratic sovereign to seize his subject's rightful properties when they were no longer alive to defend it."³

Dr. Ashirvadi Lal Srivastava is of the opinion that the views expressed by the European travellers is erroneous and seems to have been based on rumours recorded by them.⁴ ✓

1 Purchas, III, p.34.

2 Bernier, pp. 211-12; Manucci II, p. 417; Careri, p. 241; Palsaert's Jahangir's India (Tr.) by Moreland, pp. 54-56.

3 ✓ Mughal Administration by Jadunath Sarkar (4th edn.), p.155.

4 Akbar the Great, Vol.II, p. 152 by Dr.A.L.Srivastava.

In theory all cash and valuables belonging to the mansabdar were escheated at his death to the crown but in practice, the descendents of the mansabdar were occasionally, however, given a small rank by way of opportunity to prove personal merit or some cash or allowance as a means of sub-sistence- a pure act of grace. This is the generally accepted opinion but Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has contended it with considerable show of reasoning. Abdul Aziz also agrees with the views expressed by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.¹ ✓

The references to the system in the contemporary records give us a clear picture as the system prevailed. When Sher Begh Khan Agghun, a great noble of Akbar's reign died in 1620-21 A.D. (Jahangir's reign), he left about Rs. 400,000 in cash and goods which were given to his sons.² Saif Khan Kakah, a great noble of Akbar's reign was killed in the second battle of Ahmadabad in 1573 A.D. (17th Regnal year) (Akbar's reign) and was heavily in debt. His debt was paid off from the royal treasury.³ Similarly the debt of Shaikh Mohammad Bokhari (another great noble of Akbar's reign) who was killed in the battle of Pattan in 1572 A.D. was paid off from the royal treasury.⁴ The author of Maasir-i-Rahimi tells us that debt of both of them amounted to one lac Rupees

1 Abdul Aziz's Mansabdari System, p. 156. ✓

2 Tuzuk II, (Tr.) p. 172.

3 Ain I Bloch p. 375 ; AN III Tr. p. 101

4. AN IV Tr. p. 101

in the currency of Akbar's time which was equal to 2500 Tuman in the Iraqi currency.¹ ✓

In the 28th Regnal Year of Akbar's reign, Sharif Khan, brother of Khan-i-Aazm, Mirza Aziz Kokah, was given over the charge of watching over the property of the deceased persons and the conveyance of it to the heirs. Sharif Khan himself a great noble was assisted in this task by other important nobles such as Rajah Askaran, Naqib Khan and Abdur Rahman, son of Muyid Beg.² ✓

When Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan died in Bengal in 1575 A.D., Adam Tajband who had brought firmans from Akbar to the Khan-i-Khanan and the Bengal officers, from wickedness appropriated to himself the elephants and other property of Munim Khan.³ ✓ Bayazid Biyat describes how he went to Gaur after Munim's death and the difficulty he had in securing the property.⁴ ✓ The author of Maasir-i-Rahimi says that after the death of Munim Khan, the amirs of that place made Shaham Khan Jalair their Sardar or leader who sent the report of Munim's death to court. As Munim Khan had no child and was without heirs, all his property was kept in the royal diwan.⁵ ✓

1 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.II, Calcutta 1925 by Abdul Baqi Khan, p. 805. ✓

2 A.N.III.(Tr.)p. 599.

3 Ibid., p. 229.

4 Bayazid Biyat f. 147a. ✓

5 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.II, p. 840.
MU II Tr. p. 291. All his property both moveable and immovable was escheated to the state.

When Darbar Khan, a noble of Akbar's reign died in the 14th Regnal Year, the emperor Akbar himself went on his mourning^w feast and showed favours to his heirs.¹

Mir Masum and Bhakhar, who was a noble of the rank of 1000 under Akbar, died in the 2nd Regnal Year of Jahangir's reign. His eldest son was Mir Buzurg. On the death of his father, Jahangir left him in the possession of his father's property. He spent 30 to 40 lacs of rupees which he had inherited from his father. He served in the Deccan in the reign of Jahangir but as his jagir did not cover his expenses, he resigned and returned to Bhakhar, his native land and contended himself with the landed property he had inherited.²

When a report came to court in the 25th R.Y. that Khan-i-Jahan, the governor of Bengal had died, Emperor Akbar sent Ismail Quli Khan, brother of Khan-i-Jahan to Bengal and sent a message of royal favours to his children and family members.³

Thus we can come to the conclusion that in reality there was no escheat in Mughal India. What is commonly known

1 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol. I, p. 766.

2 Ain I, Block, p. 580.

3 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol. II, p. 862.

as such being only a temporary arrangement to settle the outstanding accounts, between the state and the deceased. Nevertheless, the state did probably made some gain out of these transactions,¹ but it never claimed to be the heir of the dead noble's property except when he died heirless. It seems that the emperor first actually took possession of the entire ~~wealth~~ of the noble and then disposed of it as he chose, taking some part of it for himself and leaving the rest to the heirs of the nobles in portions determined by himself. In the case of Munim Khan, all his wealth and property was escheated ~~to~~ to the crown, as he had died without heirs (he had one son living whom he had disowned), the state could be his only heir.² When Sheikh Abul Fazl, a great noble, and the writer of Akbarnamah was murdered in ~~the~~ 1602 A.D. (he had many sons) his entire movable property was presented before Akbar and he out of favour to his family refused to confiscate it.³

Prof. Athar Ali rightly says that the emperor did not confiscate the entire property of a noble, he only took his mutaliba and, if he chose, something more. But theoretically, he was the sole heir and when he passed on the inheritance to the members of the deceased noble's family, he could

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- 1 It is clear from the description of Monserrate Commentaries p. 207
 2 Bayazid Bayat p. 349 ; Badaoni II. Lower P 221; Iqbal P. 185
 3 Waqiat, i-Asad Beg. Br. M. or. 1996 f 6 cf The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb by M. Athar Ali p. 64.

follow his own will in the distribution and the Qazis were not permitted to interfere in such matters.¹

The system of escheats is denounced by the European travellers and is considered the root of all evils.

Bernier denounced it as a 'barbarous' custom. He says that it made it impossible for the families of the deceased nobles to retain their status and wealth, the king being the heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but after the Umrah's death, is soon extinguished and the sons or at least the grandsons, reduced generally to beggary.²

Moreland suggests that the escheat system created great insecurity for the nobles and was the reason why the nobles spent huge amounts on luxuries and did not save and invest.³

1 The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, by M. Athar Ali, p. 65.

The action taken by emperor Shahjahane in 1657 A.D. with regard to Ali Mardan Khan's property upon her death is the best illustration of the escheat system. The whole property of the deceased, amounting in cash and goods to one krór of rupees was seized. From bountiful generosity, the emperor bestowed thirty lacs on Ibrahim Khan (perhaps the eldest son) and twenty lacs on the remaining three sons and then daughters, while fifty lacs were appropriated to the treasury against the mutaliba. Amal-i-Salikh III, pp. 146-48; Waris, p. 16-17 Cf. The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb by M. Athar Ali, p. 64. Multaliba means the amount borrowed by the deceased noble from the imperial treasury.

2 Bernier, pp. 211-12.

3 India at the Death of Akbar, Moreland, pp. 262-63.

But this was not the case and the account of Bernier seems to be an exaggeration of the facts. We have enough evidence to show that the nobles saved money and accumulated large amounts. No doubt, the emperor was in theory an heir to the property of the deceased nobles, in practice he never confiscated the entire property of the nobles except in the case of heirless nobles. In some cases, a small portion might have gone to the treasury, he often refused to confiscate even a portion of it as is clear from the case of Shaikh Abul Fazl. It seems that the nobles were confident that their wealth after meeting the ~~mutaliba~~ mutaliba, would remain with their families and this is the reason why they amassed wealth and accumulated riches. Palsaert, indeed, was surprised that despite the escheat system the nobles continued to amass wealth and was led to believe that wealth was loved for its sake alone.¹

1 Palsaert, Jahangir's India Tr. Moreland, pp. 54-56. Palsaert says that immediately on the death of a lord who has enjoyed the king's jagir, be he great or small, without any exception- even before the breath is out of his body- the king's officers are ready on the spot and make an inventory of the entire estate recording everything down to the value of a single piece, even to the dresses and jewels of the ladies provided they have not concealed them. The king takes back the whole estate absolutely for himself, except in a case where the deceased has done good service in his life time, when the women and children are given enough to live on but no more. Palsaert, pp. 54-55.

Imperial Control over Jagirdars and Zamindars

Jagirdari system was an essential aspect of the Mughal administration. By assigning jagirs to the jagirdars, the emperor heaved a sigh of relief and was relieved of the administration of that part of his empire which was given in jagirs. But it did not mean that the jagirdar possessed within his jagir absolute power over its ~~possessed within his jagir absolute power over its~~ inhabitants. In fact his authority was checked in various ways.

He was not allowed to administer his jagir in his own way. Though in theory the jagirdar was all in all in his jagir so long he held that jagir but in practice he was bound with the rules and regulations enacted by the emperor and his authority was checked by an almost parallel system of administration under the direct control of the king. Two imperial officers known as the qanungo and the chaudhari represented the king's interest in a jagir. Their offices were generally hereditary and while the jagirdars came and went, they stayed on. Every jagirdar or rather the agents of every jagirdar had to rely on the ~~assistance of~~ ^{those two officials in} assessing and collecting the revenue. These officials kept an eye on the collection of revenue and saw that no excess revenue was taken from the peasants.

The faujdars or military commandants appointed by the emperor had the task of maintaining law and order in the respective area of their appointment and in discharging their duties they could also exercise their authority in the jagirs. It seems some jagirdars obtained faujdari rights for themselves in their jagirs. That is to say that a person appointed faujdar of a particular area was given a jagir in the same area.

The jagirdars had no judicial powers; every pargana had a qazi appointed under the imperial order who heard and settles criminal as well as revenue cases. He was completely independent of the jagirdar.

There were news-writers, known as waqa-i-nawis who were expected to report on every matter of importance which occurred in their jurisdiction. The conduct of the jagirdars, or their agents was ~~xxxx~~ represented to the emperor through these waqai nawis and sewanih-nawis who without any bias performed their job. They sent complaints to the emperor without any fear or any regard for persons. Thus they kept watch over the behaviour of the jagirdars.

The peasants or inhabitants of a jagir could also send complaints direct to the court. The emperor himself made tours to one province or another, at one time or another during which the inhabitants could themselves come before the

emperor and report about the oppressive jagirdar.¹ The emperor when convinced after the inquiry about the oppression of the jagirdar could punish him for his guilt. He could also order inquiries into the administration of various jagirdars. It was natural that the jagirdars should sometimes obstruct attempts to collect information about their collections. When in the 24th Regnal Year Muzaffar Khan was appointed the governor of Bengal, he confiscated the jagirs of many nobles and many of them of their jagirs. He transferred the jagirs of many persons and asked them to pay the arrears. The jagirdars begged to have their jagirs restored to them. Baba Khan Qaqshal explained to Muzaffar Khan that they should be compelled for the musters after restoring them their jagirs. Muzaffar Khan was intent on getting back the money which the jagirdars had collected from the jagir. The paragana of Jalesar which from the harvest of Kharif was given in jagir to Khaldin Khan and Khaldin Khan

1 Muzaffar Husain Safawi was given Sambhal in jagir in the 40th R.Y. (1594-95 A.D.). But the ryots of his jagir made complaints against his grasping collectors and Muzaffar Khan annoyed at this, applied to go to Mekkah. No sooner had Akbar granted his request than Muzaffar repented and sat down in bewilderment. Akbar recalled him and granted him new favours. But Muzaffar Husain from self indulgence and carelessness again left his work to greedy oppressors. As new complaints came, Akbar took away the jagir and paid him a cash salary in the 43rd R.Y. (1005-6 A.H, 1598 A.D.). His jagir was made crowland. Muzaffar then went to Mekkah but returned after reaching the first stage, which displeased Akbar so much that he refused to have anything to do with him. Muzaffar found everything in India bad, sometimes he resolved to go to Persia and sometimes to Mekkah. From grief and disappointment and a bodily hurt, he died in 1603-4 A.D. in the 48th R.Y. 7
Ain.I, Block. p.328; A.N.III.Tr. p. 1060 (Pr.Text. pp. 711-12).

had collected a huge amount of revenue from the Kharif harvest, Muzaffar Khan arrested Khaldin Khan to obtain that amount and got him beaten with lashes.¹ Baba Khan Qaqshal and other nobles arose in open rebellion. Akbar sent a farman from the court to Muzaffar Khan instructing him that as the Qaqshals were the old servants of the empire, they should not be annoyed and he should deal with the affairs of their jagirs very politely.² In the end Muzaffar Khan was killed by the rebels. This is one of the many causes responsible for the rebellion which are neatly summed up in Vincet Smith's Akbar the Great.³

In 1591 A.D. Qazi Nurullah and Qazi Ali were sent to Kashmir. Tota was one of Mirza Yusuf Khan's confidential servants. Mirza Yusuf Khan was at that time governor of Kashmir and he had his jagir there. The enemies trumped up stories against Tota (he was a khatri) for embezzlement. Mirza Yusuf Khan without making inquiry, put him to the torture. The ~~later~~ came to the Akbar's court for justice. He represented that the revenue of Kashmir had been fixed at 22 lakhs of kharwars and Mirza Yusuf Khan had got the jagir at the rate of 16 dams for each kharwar. At present the number of Kharwars (received by Yusuf Khan) was 50 percent

1. Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.II, p. 869. ✓

2. Ibid., p. 870.

3. Akbar the Great by Vincet Smith, pp. 184-85. ✓

more than this and each kharwar was worth 28 dams. All these facts could be ascertained by inquiry. Therefore, these two able and unavaricious officers were sent there.¹

To verify the increased revenue of Kashmir, these two officers reached Kashmir and the Mirza Yusuf's agents last hope of getting bribes, they adopted evil thoughts. Qazi Nurullah came to court and reported the disorganisation of the men and their evil intentions. Husain Beg Shaikh Umari was sent from the court to encourage the imperialists and loyal men. There upon the Servants of Mirza Yusuf Khan plotted together and stirred up strife. They made Yadgar, the cousin of Mirza Yusuf Khan their instrument and created disturbances. Qazi Ali was killed and Husain Beg somehow saved his life.²

Mirza Yusuf Khan was made over to the charge of Abul Fazl on account of foresight (Mirza Yusuf Khan was a great noble under Akbar and for a long time he was in Kashmir). When his family came out of Kashmir, he was released (1592 A.D.).³

For a time Akbar decided to make Kashmir crown land and summoned Khwajah Shamsuddin from Lahore to appoint him in-charge of Kashmir. He arrived and paid respects.⁴ Before

1 A.N.III(Tr.)pp. 906-907(Pr.Text.p.595). ✓

2 Ibid., pp. 944-46(Pre.Text p. 617+18).

3 Ibid., p. 947(Pr.Text p. 619).

4 Ibid.(Tr.)p.958.

leaving Kashmir Akbar again wished to make over the territory to Mirza Yusuf Khan but the latter again was eloquent about the question of the revenue. By luck the papers of assessment which Qazi Ali had made were found and the representations of the Mirza Yusuf's confident were proved true. The Mirza felt ashamed for not having accepted the increased revenue. Akbar in Accordance with his first idea made Kashmir ~~Crownland~~ (Khalisah) and entrusted it ~~to~~ Khwajah Shamsuddin and assigned him 3000 cavalry (Oct. 1592 A.D.).

Soon after at the request of Prince Salim Kashmir was given in jagir to Mirza Yusuf Khan and he was sent off there. The saffron, the silk and the game was made Khalisah. Other increases were remitted. That is to say that the revenue from three sources was to go to the royal treasury and the rest the Mirza could keep.²

In the 39th Regnal Year (1594 A.D.), the charge of Kabulistan was given to Qulij Khan. Khwajah Shamsuddin was made diwan-i-kul (Wazir of the empire) in his room. Jaunpur which was the jagir of Qulij Khan was made the jagir of Mirza Yusuf Khan. Kashmir was given to Ahmad Beg (Kabuli), Muhammad Quli Beg, Hamza Beg, Hasan Beg Gurd, Hasan Ali Arab, Muhammad Beg Aimaq of Badakhshan. Asaf Khan was sent to

1 A.N.III. (Tr.) p. 959; Qazi Ali's assessment is referred to in the Ain, Jarret II, pp. 366-67. ✓

2 A.N.III. (Tr.) p. 960.

Kashmir in order that he might make a new and proper division among the jagirdars and that the safforn and the game might become crown property.¹ Mirza Yusuf Khan was made darogha of artillery and was given leave to go to Jaunpur in order that he might bring it to some degree of order and then return.² In the 41st R.Y. Mirza Yusuf Khan got a jagir in Gujarat and was sent there to assist the Deccan army.³

In this way Akbar by the system of frequent transfer of jagirs, his personal tours and inquiries through the able and experienced officers and the system of transfer of jagir land to the crown land and change the pay from the revenue of the jagir to cash salary, kept the jagirdars under the imperial control.

1 A.N.III(Tr.)p. 1004.

2 Ibid.(Tr.)pp. 1015-1020.

3 Ibid.(Tr.) p. 1064; in the 42nd R.Y. Asaf Khan got a jagir in Kashmir. One of the Chief causes of the ruin of that country was that among the jagirdars there was no great officer whose opinion might be followed by all. Asaf Khan was now made the governor of Kashir. A.N.III(Tr.) pp. 1092-93.

CHAPTER V

NOBLES AND POLITICS

NOBLES AND POLITICS

The Emperor in theory enjoyed absolute powers but in the fulfilment of his duties he was assisted by his officers. Though the Emperor was not bound by the advise of his nobles, yet he, could not fully ignore it. The opinions and interests of the nobles were taken into consideration by the Emperor. Since the Mughal nobility was heterogenous in character, the nobles often differed among themselves. But the personal interests of great nobles or of any significant section of nobles were bound to have bearing on the vital issues facing the Empire.

Akbar and the Nobility-First Phase(1556-62 A.D.)

There were two groups- one group was headed by Bairam Khan who was in power and it consisted of mostly the Shias and Iranis, the other group was headed by Tardi Beg Khan and it consisted of mainly the Sunnis and Turanis. The second group was opposed to the authority exercised by Bairam Khan and his supporters. They disliked the appointment of Bairam Khan to the high office of Wakil of the Empire and regent or guardian of the Emperor. The older nobles who were Sunnis and claimed pure Turkish blood in their veins grunted the appointment of Bairam Khan who was junior and a Persian and a Shia. Bairam Khan was no doubt the most powerful noble at the time of the death of Humayun and his

loyalty to the house of Humayun was beyond question. His superior culture, literary gifts, wit and shrewdness combined with a virile character, high diplomatic skill, administrative experience, fine generalship and striking gallantry qualified him one of the fittest nobles for the high office of guardianship of the emperor.

Now the task before Bairam Khan was not an easy one. Firstly, he was to prove his worth as guardian of the Emperor and silence his opponents. Secondly, he was to establish the authority of Akbar over the capital and the surrounding districts of Hindustan (Northern India). The enthronement of Akbar had simply registered his claim to sovereignty. He had only a precarious hold on Delhi and some areas of Punjab.¹ Bairam Khan was to recover the land which Humayun had lost. This task he was to complete against the strong opposition of the Afghan chiefs who were too eager to secure their lost sovereignty. So a vigorous military policy was undertaken by Bairam Khan.² This aggressive military policy required the full cooperation of the nobility and all

1 Akbar The Great Mogul, by Vincent A. Smith (second ed.) 1958, pp. 23-24. ✓

2 When the news of the fall of Delhi reached Akbar and Bairam Khan at Jullundhar, most of the courtiers and officers counselled an immediate retreat on Kabul urging that it was folly to attempt to withstand Himu, now at the head of 100,000 men with 20,000 men which were all that Akbar could muster. Bairam Khan decided, however, to risk all in the attempt to recover Delhi and had no difficulty in persuading the high spirited and precocious Akbar to adopt his view.

The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 71.

dissensions had to be avoided. The interest of the nobles of Akbar was to hold together in the face of common danger. That is the reason why the nobles kept quite when Bairam Khan secured the murder of Tardi Beg Khan only after a few months after the accession. The murder of one of the oldest Turkish nobles sent a thrill of horror among the Turks but they kept quite for the time-being.¹

No sooner the royal authority was firmly established and Akbar's throne became safe. The opposition began to work. But the enemies of Bairam Khan were not in a humour to make his exit easy. If they could have had their way unobstructed, they would certainly have put him to death. It seems that his enemies were resolved to get rid of him at any cost and that they deliberately forced him into rebellion in order to ensure his destruction. After the death of Tardi Beg Khan, the real leader of the opposite group of Bairam Khan was Akbar's nurse Maham Anaga who was a clever diplomat and an ambitious lady. She was supported in her designs by Munim Khan and Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan Nishapuri. But these nobles would have fumed and fretted in vain had the mind of Akbar not gradually turned away from Bairam Khan. As Akbar grew in age, he wanted to assert his position but sometimes his wishes were completely disregarded by Bairam Khan. He did

1 A.N.Vol.II, pp 52-53;T.A. II, p. 215.

not like Bairam Khan's control over the imperial elephants. Moreover, he was not allowed any privy purse. All this was very much resented by the Emperor, who decided to take the helm of the empire in his own hand.¹ But he knew it very well that an open rupture with Bairam Khan might jeopardize his position as in the case of his grand father ^{BABAR} ~~Bairam Khan~~.² He, therefore, waited for a suitable opportunity. He must have welcomed the proposal of the intriguers of Bairam Khan who were resolved to get rid of him. Though the proposal came from the side of the rivals of Bairam Khan, it suited the desire of the Emperor and he gave his full support to them.

But Bairam Khan was forced to rebel by his enemies as well as by his friends like Shaikh Gadai and Wali Beg Zul-qadr ^{and others} etc. He was only a half-hearted rebel and was glad to be captured. Had he been allowed an interview with the Emperor, he would have submitted, Vincet Smith is of the opinion that for a long time he steadily resisted the advice of Shaikh Gadai and others who counselled open opposition, and if his enemies had abstained from the outrage of deputing Pir Mohammad to 'pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca',

1 A.N.II, p. 141; T.A.II, 236-238. ✓

2 Nizamuddin Khalifa, the Prime Minister of Babar, was interested in the accession of Babar's brother-in-law Mehdi Khwajah, the husband of Babar's Sister Khanzada Begun against Humayun.

he would apparently have submitted to his sovereign's will, as his modern representative, Bismarck, submitted to William II, that is to say, reluctantly, but as a matter of both necessity and duty.¹ Even Abul Fazl who accuses him of rebellion says that 'Bairam Khan was in reality a good man, and of excellent qualities'.²

With the death of Bairam Khan in January 1560, the first strong group among the nobles came to an end. But the second group who was in opposition to Bairam Khan came in power. Vincent Smith is of the opinion that "Akbar shook off the tutelage of Bairam Khan only to bring himself under the monstrous regiment' of unscrupulous women. He had yet another effort to make before he rose to the height of his essentially noble native."³ ✓ He calls the period between 1560-64, a petticoat government and says that in this period Akbar was subject to petticoat government of the worst kind.⁴ ✓ But it is difficult to agree with the view expressed by this European scholar. No doubt the harem had great influence in the politics of the period from 1560-62, Akbar was not slow to notice it. He did not allow the interests of the empire abandoned. The pre-requisite of the military

1 Akbar the Great Mogul by Vincent Smith, p. 35 (sec.ed.1958) ✓

2 A.N.Vol.II, PreText, p. 130, Eng.Tr. Vol.II, p.200.

3 Akbar the Great Mogul ✓ by Vincent Smith, p. 35 (Second ed.)

4 Ibid., p. 36.

aggressive policy of Akbar was that his own house should be free from dissensions. Policy of conquests for consolidation and extension of the Empire could not be followed till the nobles behaved with undoubtful loyalty to the throne and the nobility be free from groupism among its ranks. As soon as Akbar learnt that Adham Khan was assuming airs of independence and behaving ~~scandalously~~ ^{scandalously} in Malwa, Akbar at once decided to go to Malwa in person and ~~punish~~ ^{punish} Adham Khan though he was the son of Maham Anga for whom he had great regard. Though in this period Akbar learnt about the ~~un-~~ ^{comely} behaviour of Ali Quli Khan Uzbek in the East, he preferred to go to Malwa first and punish Adham Khan and the punishment of Ali Quli Khan was postponed for a later period. Thus when the interests of the Empire were ~~endangered~~ ^{endangered} he did not care for Maham Anaga. Again when Adham Khan murdered Shamsuddin Mohammad Khan Atgah in May, 1562, Akbar in complete disregard of Maham Angah did justice and Adham Khan was killed immediately. Therefore, as Akbar acted on his own initiative several times, it is difficult to call this period as petticoat government.¹

1 The period commencing from March 19, 1560 to the end of 1561, may correctly be designated as that of the petticoat government and not that from 1560 to 1564 as the historian Smith has supposed. The period June 1561-June 1562 was not of Petticoat government as V.A. Smith has called it. Several times during these two years Akbar had given proof of his independence of mind and action. He had under taken long and arduous expeditions to punish Adham Khan and Khan-i-Zaman for their contumacious conduct, he had removed Adham Khan from the governorship of Malwa, he had married a Rajput princess and included Rajputs into the ranks of nobility, he had abolished enslavement of prisoners of war and saved them from conversion to Islam. These measures could

With the death of Adham Khan in 1562, the first phase came to an end. The two groups, formed at the accession of Akbar came to an end. Akbar had by then learnt that neither the Turanis nor ~~Iranis~~ ^{Iranis} were completely reliable. It was the political situation of the period between 1556-1562 A.D. which encouraged Akbar to include Rajputs into the ranks of nobility. The next phase saw the expansion of the Empire. This period was full of rebellions too. Akbar had to follow a dual policy- expansion of the empire and suppression of the rebellions. He was to extend the limits of his empire and side by side he was forced to suppress rebellions which arose due to various reasons. Now we propose to study how far the nobles cooperated with the Emperor in the implementation of these two policies and what was their attitude towards these policies. ✓

(contd.)

not have been accomplished under the influence of Maham Anagah or any other member of the harem or the court. These were the results of Akbar's own free will. He was gradually emerging from the influence of the harem. There is no doubt that Akbar was in some measure ^{under the} influence of Maham Angah at this period and the appointments of Adham Khan and Pir Mohammad to Malwa was done due to her pressure, but the administration during 1561-62 was Akbar's. The influence of the harem was completely shaken off after the death of Maham Anagah on June 24, 1562. Thus, there was no petticoat government after 1561. ✓

See, Akbar the Great, Vol.I, by A.L. Srivastava, pp. 48,65 (Second edn. 1972). ✓

Akbar, however, deserves credit for generously forgiving ^{Bairam Khan's} ~~his~~ actions and appreciating the services of one who was mainly responsible for the restoration of the Mughals. The four year regency of Bairam Khan was momentous in the history of India as in that of the reign of Akbar.

The first conquest, after Bairam's exit was that of the province of Malwa. The province was badly administered by Baz Bahadur Sur, the son of Shujaat Khan. In his early career ^{he} had shown martial activity but later on he became deeply engrossed in poetry, music, wine and the company of women and became indifferent to the affairs of his kingdom. The deplorable condition of Malwa tempted Akbar to take advantage of this confusion and in February, 1561, he deputed Adham Khan and Pir Mohammad Khan, with a powerful army for the conquest of Malwa. On 29th March, 1561, Baz Bahadur was defeated in a severe battle and fled towards Burhanpur in Khandesh. Sarangpur, the capital of Malwa was occupied by the imperialists. After this momentous victory Adham Khan divided Malwa among the principal officers, taking for himself Sarangpur and some other select parganas. Both Adham Khan and Pir Mohammad were cruel and vicious men. They were intoxicated in power and heartless tyrants as they were, committed horrible cruelties on the helpless people of Malwa. Adham Khan also appropriated for himself all the rare and exquisite articles as well as the treasure and courtesans of Baz Bahadur. Akbar himself went to Malwa and after

punishing him returned to Agra, leaving Adham Khan as Governor of Malwa.¹ ✓

According to Abul Fazl, Akbar's policy of conquests was prompted by his desire to give peace and prosperity to the people who were suffering under the selfish and unbridled despotism of local potentates. A.L. Srivastava rightly contends that it is hardly true so far Akbar's early conquests were concerned.² In the early years of his reign, he was persuaded by this love of territory, power, ^{and} wealth. He was only interested in the extension of ~~the~~ his empire.

Nobles and Politics- Second Phase (1562-1599)

The period from 1562-1599 was a period of conquests and consolidation. This period, broadly speaking is free from overt factionalism within the nobility. There were petty jealousies and rivalries among the nobles but no strong group or faction was formed.

Rebellion of Shah Abul Maali

At this time occurred the rebellion of Shah Abul Maali. He joined with the other rebel Sharafuddin Husain. Shah Abul Maali, who was a great noble under Humayun, proceeded towards Kabul with a view to bring an army under

1 A.N.Vol.II, pp. 208-222; T.A.II, pp. 252-254.

2 A.L.Srivastava, The Mughal Empire, pp. 143-44.

Mirza Hakim against Akbar.¹ (He was a disgruntled noble under Akbar because Bairam Khan was all powerful in the beginning of the reign).² Akbar sent an army against Abul Maali and himself proceeded to Delhi (Jan. 1564) in order to be in close touch with the operations against Abul Maali. On 10th Jan. he arrived by rapid marches at Delhi.³ One day Akbar was returning on a horse from a visit to Nizamuddin Auliya's Shrine, he was struck by an arrow. The culprit was arrested on the spot and was cut into pieces.⁴ Abul Maali went to Kabul and was well received by Mah Chuchak Begum, who, impressed by his noble ancestry, comely presence and the regard in which he was held by Humayun, her late husband, gave him shelter and married her daughter Fakhr-un-Nisa with him. But Abul Maali was not content with the subordinate position and he conspired to kill the Begum and seize supreme power in the province. Begum was put to death in April, 1564. Afterwards Abul Maali took possession of Mirza Hakim and put aside all those men who were loyal to his family. The loyalists asked Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan to interfere in the affairs of Kabul and save Mirza Hakim. Accordingly Mirza Sulaiman came to Kabul. ~~and save Mirza Hakim~~ Abul Maali was taken prisoner

1 T.A.II, pp. 273-75; A.N.II, pp. 308-311, 314.

2 T.A.II, pp. 209-10.

3 A.N.II, p. 312.

4 A.N. II, p. 313; T.A. II, pp. 275-76.

and was put to death by the order of Mirza Hakim on May 13, 1564. Mirza Sulaiman gave his daughter in marriage to Mirza Hakim and then returned to Badakhshan.¹

Rebellion of Khwajah Muazzam

Khwajah Muazzam, half brother of the queen mother Hamida Banu Begam, presuming on his relationship with the royal family committed many cruelties for which he had to be expelled from the court more than once. In March 1564, it was reported to Akbar that the Khwajah wanted to murder his wife, Zubra Agha, daughter of Bibi Fatima who held a high place in the imperial harem and was for that reason intent on proceeding with her to his jagir. Akbar himself with some twenty men, on the pretext of hunting persuaded the Khwajah and sent two of his men to apprise the Khwajah of his intended visit to his (Kuwajab's) residence.² On receipt of the message Muazzam became wild with rage, killed his wife, and threw the blood stained dagger before these men. When Akbar learnt about it, he was shocked and he instructed Muazzam's hands and neck to be bound and to be ducked in the river.³ But the Khwajah was not drowned, Akbar then sent him a captive to the fort of Gwalior where his brain was hinged and he died shortly after.⁴

1 A.N.II, pp. 317-322; T.A. II, pp. 276-279.

2 A.N.II, pp. 334-336; T.A. II, pp. 287-289.

3 A.N.II, pp. 336-337; T.A. II, p. 289.

4 A.N.II, p. 337; T.A. II, p. 289.

The well deserved punishment inflicted on his own maternal uncle, demonstrated that Akbar would not shrink from dealing inproper manner with all people irrespective of their rank or position or relationship with the royal family. He would not tolerate any misbehaviour and could not allow anyone to influence his policy or to interfere with the administration of the country. Earlier he had capitally punished Adham Khan, though he had great regard for Maham Anaga.¹ He also punished Sharfuddin Husain, though he had great regard for his noble descent.²

Uzbeg Rebellion

Akbar had though freed himself from the overwhelming influence of the nobles and had no doubt broken the backbone of the powerful nobility but he had yet to give a lesson and bring to senses the Uzbeg nobles whose loyalty to the throne was always fluctuating. Though the Uzbegs had rendered valuable services to the empire, their attitude was not beyond suspicion and Akbar could not rely and tolerate persons of doubtful loyalty among the ranks of nobility. Akbar learnt that Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman was developing friendly relations with Sulaiman Kararani, the Afghan ruler of Bengal, but he could not immediately turn his attention towards him because the clouds of sedition were

1 A.N. II. pp. 271-273; T.A. II, pp. 263-64.

2 A.N. II. pp. 302-304; pp. 309-310; T.A. II, p. 275.

rising up in Malwa. This was the reason why Akbar connived at Asaf Khan's audacity in the conquest of Goudwana.¹ He had learnt that Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the governor of Malwa had assumed an air of independence and like some other nobles he kept to himself the war booty and had his own way. Akbar, therefore, resolved to suppress him and bring him back to his sense, in utter disregard of the inclemency of the weather, started from Agra on July 1, 1564. Hearing of the arrival of the Emperor, Abdullah Khan fled away from Malwa and refused to come back inspite of the promises of pardon and favours made by the Emperor. The Emperor now appointed Qara Bahadur Khan as governor of Malwa and came back to Agra in September, 1564.²

Akbar thought that the incident of Abdullah Khan might cause some trouble in the east where all the leaders of the Uzbek tribe were posted. He, therefore, decided to disperse them and sent Ashraf Khan to Iskandar Khan Uzbek (Khan-i-Alam), jagirdar of Oudh to bring him to court. Iskandar Khan went with Ashraf to Ibrahim Khan Uzbek to consult him and finally they all proceeded to Jannpur,³ to take the advice of Ali Quli Khan Zaman. These Uzbek nobles

1 A.N. II, pp. 332-33; T.A. II, pp. 280-82, 294.

2 A.N. II, pp. 341-353; T.A. II, pp. 283-86.

3 A.N. II, pp. 375-76; T.A. II, p. 294.

combined together and raised the standard of rebellion.¹ These disgruntled Uzbek nobles had been responsible, next to Bairam Khan, for the restoration of Humayun and the installation of Akbar. For long they had been posted in the east and had to bear the brunt of fighting with the Afghans who made successive attempts to dislodge the Mughals and recover their lost sovereignty. They felt aggrieved as they thought that their services had not been fully rewarded whereas others, especially Iranis, who had not rendered any conspicuous service were preferred for higher posts. The Uzbeks felt that the Emperor had a prejudice against them, as sometimes, the Emperor in discreetly remarked that his father's troubles were due to the Uzbek conspiracy and unfaithfulness.² They thought that for this reason Akbar had kept them away from court and appointed in the east. Therefore, they feared that if they leave their posts in the east, their solidarity and position would be weakened. The Uzbek leaders were closely knit together by family ties and cherished higher ambitions. They decided to take up the arms against their sovereign. Not only did they refuse to go to court, but threw Ashraf Khan into prison and took over the

1 A.N. II, pp. 376-77; T.A. II, pp. 294-95.

2 An important cause of the early rebellions, including those of the Uzbeks against Akbar was the fact that in disregard of the traditional Islamic practice of leaving four fifth of the spoils of war booty to the army, Akbar claimed, like Alauddin Khalji four fifth for the state and gave only one-fifth to the soldiers and leaders of the expeditions.

See Akbar the Great, Vol.I, by A.L.Srivastava, p.91.

government of the eastern districts from Akbar's officers. They decided after deliberations that Iskandar Khan and Ibrahim Khan should march, by way of Lucknow, upon Kanauj, whereas Ali Quli and his brother Bahadur Khan should invade Kara Manikpur which was held by Majnun Khan Qaqshal.¹ The imperial officers in the neighbourhood of Awadh opposed Iskandar and Ibrahim and were defeated in a battle near Nimkhar in the modern Sitapur district and their leader Mohammad Amin Diwana, was taken prisoner. As the rebels were superior in number, Shaham Khan and Budagh Khan took shelter in the fort of Nimkhar. Similarly, Majnun Khan was obliged to shut himself up in the fort of Manikpur by Bahadur Khan. Majnun Khan invited Asaf Khan from Garh Katanga for his assistance. Asaf Khan came with men and money but found that he would not be able to cope with the valiant Uzbegs.²

When Akbar learnt that the Uzbek tribe was up in arms and was backed up by Afghans, he immediately sent Munim Khan in advance and himself joined him at Kannauj (June, 1565).³ When Ibrahim Khan and Iskandar Khan learnt about the arrival of the Emperor, they fled to Khan Zaman and Bahadur. The Uzbek leaders fled to Jaunpur and thence the Hajipur, opposite Patna and asked for help from Sulaiman Kararani.⁴ On July 13,

1 A.N.II, p. 376; T.A. II, pp. 295-96.

2 A.N.II, pp. 376-377; T.A. II, p. 296.

3 A.N. II, pp. 378-79; T.A. II, p. 297.

4 A.N.II, p. 379-80; T.A. II, pp. 298-99.

Akbar occupied Jaunpur. Here he was joined by Asaf Khan but he felt apprehensive lest he should be called to account for his delinquency and took alarm at the rumour that the Emperor intended to call for an account of the plunder of Chauragarh and fled back to Garha.¹ The rebellion of Asaf Khan weakened the imperial force and encouraged the Khan Laman to despatch Iskandar Khan and Bahadur Khan to Sarwar (Gorakhpur and Faizabad districts) to stir up insurrection. Akbar at once sent a detachment of troops under Mir Muizz-ul-mulk to suppress the rebels and ordered Shujaat Khan to pursue Asaf Khan and bring him back to court and himself went to ALLAHABAD ✓ to watch the situation. An indecisive engagement took place between Shujaat Khan and the rebel Asaf Khan on the bank of the Ganga but the latter managed to escape in the night.² The Uzbegs felt that their strategy had failed and therefore Ali Quli opened negotiations with Munim Khan. Akbar pardoned the rebels, though he was doubtful of their loyalty, on the condition that Khan Laman should³ not cross the Ganges so long Akbar was in the eastern districts. ✓ Bahadur Khan who had gained a victory over the imperialists at Khairabad, also submitted. It was further decided that the Uzbegs would be restored to their offices

1 A.N.II, pp. 382-83; T.A. II, p. 301.

2. A.N.II, p. 383; T.A. II, p. 301.

3 A.N.II, p. 385.

and jagirs on Akbar's return to Agra.¹ Akbar was dissatisfied with Rajah Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan who had been deputed against Iskandar and Bahadur and who were opposed to any peace parleys with the habitual rebels and were defeated near Khairabad by Bahadur. Akbar was enraged and Lashkar Khan and Todar Mal fell temporarily under the imperial disfavour.

But Khan Zaman was not serious about the agreement made with the Emperor and in contravention of his promise, crossed the Ganges and sent men to capture Chazipur and Jaunpur. The Emperor who had gone towards Benaras was enraged and left Benaras on February, 1566 to chastise the Uzbek leader.² Khan Zaman fled towards Gorakhpur, hotly pursued by the Emperor's troops and disappeared in the forests. Akbar returned to Mau (in Azamgarh district) where he learnt that Jaunpur had fallen into the hands of Bahadur Khan and Benaras had been plundered by him. The Emperor, therefore, marched back and recaptured Jaunpur.³ At Zamaniya, Bahadur ^{of} heard the Emperor's return and fled to Hajipur again. Now Akbar announced his desire to remain at Jaunpur until he had crushed the Uzbek rebellion. This determination of Akbar weakened the morale of Ali Quli Khan who again requested for pardon. Akbar again pardoned Khan Zaman, at the intercession

1 A.N. II, p. 388; T.A. II, p. 309.

2 A.N. II, p. 394; T.A. II, pp. 310-11.

3 A.N. II, p. 397.

of Makhdum -ul-Mulk, Shaikha Abdun Nabi and Murtaza Sharifi as he was obviously weary of incessant campaigning and left Jaunpur for Agra on March 3, 1566.¹ But the Emperor had now fully realised that Munim Khan and some of the imperial officials had dormant sympathies for the rebels and that his force was not sufficient to crush the hostile elements. Therefore, as a clever politician and good judge of men, Akbar made the best of the situation.

Rebellion of Mirza Hakim

Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan invaded Kabul and Mirza Hakim was compelled to retreat to the Indus and asked Akbar to help him. Akbar sent Faridun to his assistance and asked the Punjab officers to do their best to help the Mirza in his distress. Encouraged by the Uzbek rebellion and instigated by his maternal uncle Faridun, Mirza Hakim invaded the Punjab. He plundered Bhera on the Jhelum and proceeded towards Lahore and encamped in a garden outside the city. Akbar on receipt of the news started from Agra on November 17, 1566 to repel his brother. He had hardly reached the Sutlej when he came to know that the Mirza had returned to Kabul. Mirza Hakim was not prepared to fight Mirza Sulaiman and Akbar simultaneously. It seems that he hoped universal support from the nobility which was believed to be quite

1 A.N.II. pp. 398-399; T.A.II. p. 314.

discontented. But when he found that Punjab officers such as Muhammad Khan, Qutbuddin Khan and Sharif Khan were fully prepared to resist him and the celerity with which Akbar came to meet him shed away his hopes and he fled back precipitately. Akbar did not order pursuit beyond the Indus.¹

Suppression of the Rebellions of the Mirzas and the Uzbegs

While Akbar's attention was engrossed in the Punjab in the suppression of the rebellion of Mirza Hakim, rebellions broke out in the U.P., from Sambhal to Jaunpur. The Mirzas of Sambhal were in open rebellion.² The Uzbegs had again taken up arms. Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the ex-governor of Malwa who had been expelled from Gujarat by Chhangiz Khan made a raid on Malwa; but he was defeated by its governor Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan and fled to join the arch rebel Khan Zaman at Jaunpur.³ Mahdi Qasim Khan who was appointed to succeed as governor of Garh-Katanga after the rebellion of Asaf Khan, failed to administer the province and fled to Mecca⁴ without getting permission from the Emperor.

1 When Mirza Hakim returned to Kabul, Mirza Sulaiman who was still near Kabul, patched up a peace with Mirza Hakim and went back to Badakhshan; A.N. II, pp. 407-411; T.A. II pp. 318-325.

2 T.A. II. pp. 326-327; A.N. II. pp. 413-414.

3 A.N. II. p. 420.

4 A.N. II. p. 415.

Asaf Khan fled to join Khan Zaman at Jaunpur but the arrogant Uzbegs did not like his company. So he and his brother Wazir Khan offered their submission a few months after their flight and were pardoned.¹ ✓ They did homage to Akbar near Lahore in March, 1567. The Uzbegs were in open rebellion and had read the Khutba in the name of Mirza Hakim. Had Mirza Hakim managed to hold on India for sometime more, he would definitely have found his cause more hopeful but his departure was extremely fortunate for Akbar who could now give his full attention to internal dangers. Since the days of Hemu Akbar had to face no crisis / more serious than this. Had Mirza Hakim remained longer in India, taken between two fires, Akbar would have found his affairs most desperate. But the stars were in Akbar's favour. On the one hand Mirza Hakim left India and on the other hand the rebels had no definite plans and could not unite for action. It was a mistake on the part of the Uzbegs who failed to utilize the abilities and resources of Asaf Khan and the unbounded energy of the Mirzas. Had they all combined together and had Mirza Hakim stayed longer, the history of India would have been different. ✓

Mohammad Sultan Mirza was a direct descendent of ak Umar Shaikh, son of Timur on his father's side and his mother was the daughter of Sultan Husain Baiqara. When Akbar ascended the throne, he gave the old Mohammad Sultan Mirza the

1 T.A. II. pp. 329-330; A.N. II, p. 419.

jagir of Azampur in Sambhal. But the old man married again and from his new wife had several children; Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Mohammad Husain Mirza, Masud Husain and Aquil Husain. The Emperor gave jagirs to every one of them. As they were the princes of the royal blood they could not meet their expenditure from the income of their small jagirs.¹ The absence of the Emperor from the capital and the state of Chaos and confusion in U.P. inspired them to build their fortune with the help of the sword. Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza joined Ibrahim Husain Mirza and Mohammad Husain Mirza, plundered Sambhal and its neighbourhood. The officers of the district opposed them and they fled to Jaunpur to join Khan Zaman and Iskandar Khan Uzbek. But they were not well-received by Khan Zaman, therefore, they plundering on their way and defeating the jagirdar of Nimkhar proceeded towards Delhi. As Delhi was very well fortified, they fled to Malwa, the governor of which province was absent on a visit to the Emperor at Lahore. They defeated Mir Muizzul-mulk near Sampat and took possession of Malwa. Before taking the field against them Akbar ordered Mohammad Sultan Mirza, the father of the rebels, to be removed from Azampur in the Sambhal district and imprisoned in the fort of Biyana.²

1 T.A. II, p. 326.

2 Ibid., p. 327.

In March, 1567 Akbar left Lahore and came to Agra where he learnt that the Uzbegs had occupied the whole country from Jaunpur to Kanauj and Oudh upto Kara. The governor of Kannauj was besieged by the Khan Zaman himself. On 6th May Akbar started from Agra with full determination to crush the Uzbek rebellion.¹ This time, he left Munim Khan at the capital as his sympathies for the Uzbek brothers had proved a hinderance in the suppression of the Uzbegs in the previous campaigns. Hearing of the march of Akbar, the Khan Zaman raised the siege of Kannauj and joined his brother Bahadur Khan who was besieging Asaf Khan and Majnun Khan at Manikpur. Having sent a detachment under Mohammad Guli Khan ~~Barlas~~ and Rajah Todar Mal against Iskandar Khan in Oudh, the Emperor himself proceeded towards Kara Manikpur against Khan Zaman. At Rai Bareilly he learnt from a dispatch of Asaf Khan, that the Uzbek brothers had marched off and intended to capture Gwalior on their way to Malwa.² The situation was so alarming that Akbar thought it prudent to issue instructions to put his cousin Abul Qasim, son of Kamran, who was a prisoner in the fort of Gwalior, to death. The imperial order~~s~~ was carried out by (Bhagwant Das) the son of Rajah Bharmal. The Emperor was, however, not deterred from his resolution and turned his reins, marching the whole

1 T.A.II, p. 332; A.N. II, p. 427.

2 T.A. II, pp. 332-33.

night and half of the day reached Manikpur where he learnt that the Uzbek brothers had crossed over the Ganges.¹ The Ganges was in flood but the Emperor drove his elephant into the river and safely crossed it with 1500 tried soldiers. The Uzbeks had no information about ~~it~~^{it} and they passed the night in merry-making. Before Sun rise the Emperor's troops were in full battle array and the drums were beaten. The Uzbek brothers came to their sense and decided to fight. On June 9, 1567, a desperate battle was fought at Fathpur Parsoli (7 miles South east of Kara). The Khan Zaman received two fatal injuries, was unhorsed and crushed by an elephant. Bahadur Khan was made prisoner and brought before the Emperor but he showed no sign of repentence and spoke in a defiant manner. Therefore, he was ordered to be executed. The news of the death of Khan Zaman and Bahadur Khan broke the courage of the rebels. At last, Iskandar Khan Uzbek fled away to Bihar. As the imperial troops had no instructions to cross the boundary they came back. Finding himself in danger in Bengal, Iskandar came to Munim Khan, at whose request the Emperor pardoned him and gave him the fief of Lucknow (1571-72) . Next year he died.²

Akbar came to Jaunpur via Benaras. The jagirs of the Khan Zaman were given to Munim Khan who was called from

1 T.A. II. p. 333.

2 T.A. II, pp. 333-336; A.N. II. pp. 427-433.

the capital to take over the charge. The peace now established in the east, the Emperor returned to the capital on 18 July, 1567.¹

The Uzbek rebellions which lasted for more than two years and involved a large part of the country and many notable officers, constituted a serious menace to Akbar and his empire. It diverted his attention and Akbar's policy of extension of his dominions came to a halt. After the conquest of Garh Katanga, neither the Emperor, nor any of nobles had the leisure to undertake the conquest of any one of the independent states in the country. With the collapse of the Uzbek rebellion came to an end a long struggle between the Emperor and the turbulent nobility. It began in 1560 when Bairam Khan was dismissed and continued for full seven years. By his diplomatic skill, patience, perseverance, unbounded energy and undaunted courage, the Emperor triumphed over all the forces of opposition. Free from anxiety and internal danger, Akbar could now turn his attention to a methodical expansion of his dominions. In the period of crisis the nobles fully cooperated with the Emperor. When the Uzbek nobles were in rebellion, no other noble rebelled except Asaf Khan and he, too submitted along with his brother Wazir Khan when he found opportunity. In fact he had not rebelled but fled from the court out of fear. Akbar on his side was not slow to punish men of dubious loyalty. Even if he blinked over the

1 T.A. II, pp. 337-38; A.N. II. p. 436.

misbehaviour of any noble, compelled by the political circumstances, he gave him proper punishment whenever he found opportunity. At the same time he was not hard in his punishment. If a noble submitted to him and expressed his repentance, he pardoned him. It was only in few cases when the peace of the empire was involved that he gave orders of execution.

Rebellion of Mirza Hakim

In response to the repeated invitations by the rebels of Bihar and Bengal (particularly Masum Khan Kabuli and Masum Khan Farankhudi) and at the instigation of his maternal uncle Faridun, Mirza Hakim of Kabul invaded India and his advance troops under Nuruddin crossed the Indus in December, 1580. It was a good fortune of Akbar that Mirza Hakim's project of invading India was postponed owing to a civil war in Badakhshan. Had he rebelled earlier when the Bengal rebellion was at its height, the task of Akbar would have become more difficult, though, no doubt, Akbar would have faced the situation boldly. Now Akbar was fully prepared to meet the invasion from Kabul. Akbar took the wise step of placing the territory of the Indus in the strong hands of Man Singh who made prompt and adequate measures for the defence of that region and issued instructions to Man Singh and other officers in the Punjab to postpone engagement with the invader and wait for his arrival there.¹ The advance

1 A.N. III, p. 493. MASUM KHAN KABULI AND MASUM KHAN FARANKHUDI WERE NOBLES IN THE SERVICE OF AKBAR

guard of Mirza under Nuruddin was defeated by Mirza Yusuf Khan, the governor of Rohtas and Nuruddin was killed and the Afghan troops driven back. To revenge the death of Nuruddin, Mirza Hakim sent Shadman 'the sword of Afghan army' who laid siege ~~on~~ to the fort of Nilab, 15 miles below Attock on 18th December.¹ Man Singh hurriedly went there and Shadman was mortally wounded by Rajah Suraj Singh, the brother of Man Singh and the commander of the Mughal vanguard. Shadman was taken prisoner but soon died of his wounds. As soon as the Mirza learnt about the death of Shadman, he pushed forward and crossed the Indus and invited Mirza Yusuf Khan to join him but the latter bluntly refused the offer. Following the royal orders not to oppose the Mirza before the Emperor's arrival, Man Singh came back to Lahore and put it into defence.² The Mirza pushed on to Lahore and besieged it. The Punjab officers Rajah Bhagwant Das, Man Singh and others bravely defended Lahore. The Mirza was greatly disappointed to find that not even a single officer, Hindu or Muslim, nor even the Mullas of Lahore joined him against Akbar.

Continuing his journey when the Emperor reached Shahbad, he ordered the execution of Khwajah Shah Mansur, the Finance Minister on charge of high treason. Man Singh

1 A.N. III. pp. 493-94.

2 A.N. III. pp. 494, 507-508.

had found in the portfolio of Shadman, three letters written to Hakim-ul-Mulk, Qasim Khan Mir Bahr and Khwajah Shah Mansur, purporting to be answers to the letters of invitation and encouragement written to Mirza Hakim by those officers.¹ The Mirza had, in this letter, assured Shah Mansur of his good will and promised to reward his services. Akbar did not take it seriously but his suspicion was aroused when near Sonapat (28 miles north west of Delhi) Mirza Hakim's Wazir Malik Sami, pretending to be disaffected with his master arrived at the imperial camp, put up with Shah Mansur and sought an interview with Akbar through his mediation. Akbar now showed to him Mirza's letter and called upon explanation. The Khwajah pleaded his innocence but failed to give a convincing explanation and was put under arrest. A few days later, the Kotwal of the camp brought another set of letters which he had intercepted from Sharof Beg, the Khwajah's shiqdar at Firozpur, and few letters showed that Sharof Beg and some other men belonging to that district had been in correspondence with Mirza Hakim and promised to join him. Akbar's suspicion was now confirmed and he ordered the public execution of the Khwajah, if no responsible high officer came forward to stand a security for him. As the Khwajah was unpopular because of his severity and rigorous ~~administration~~ administration and many nobles were keen to see him

1 A.N. III. pp. 501-503.

hanged, no one offered to stand security, for him and the Khwajah was hanged on February 27, 1581.¹ "The news was received by the king's followers with loud acclamation and the whole camp showed by its joy how much it approved of the Villian's punishment". Writes Monserrate who was present on the scene.² Circumstantial evidence and other proofs, although available against the Khwajah, were by no means so clear as to justify his execution. But it seems that the Emperor had become touchy and over suspicious because of the rebellion of several high officers in Bengal and he could not tolerate persons of doubtful integrity. The highly poisoned political atmosphere required the immediate execution of the Khwajah. Therefore, Akbar was led by political considerations in ordering the execution of the Khwajah, though the act was not fully justified. There was no time to do justice with the Khwajah. The times were critical and Akbar could not venture a struggle with the nobility at a time when Mirza Hakim was knocking at the doors of the Empire. The Mirza had his sympathisers and friends not only in Bihar and Bengal but also in the imperial camp. There was no time to accomplish the formalities of legal proceeding. Khwajah Mansur's execution satisfied the nobles and came as a warning and was a wise step undertaken by Akbar

1. A.N. III. pp. 503-04 (note pp. 504-505).

2. Commentarius, p. 99. ✓

in the interests of the Empire. But Akbar himself regretted ^{the} death of such an able financier and continued to express his grief which became all the more acute when on reaching Kabul, he learnt that the last set of letters which was responsible for the ^dorder of the execution was a forgery. In normal times Akbar would certainly have given him benefit of doubt and set him free. The capital punishment was justified on political grounds and it served as a warning to those who were either hostile or wavering in their loyalty. It nipped the plot against Akbar in the bud. In the words of the eye witness Monserrate "the whole conspiracy was at once stopped by the execution".¹

Mirza Hakim had expected that Akbar would be deserted by his officers and that people would join him in large numbers that rebellions would break out every where when his army entered India and that Lahore would easily fall in his hands. But he was disappointed in his designs when he found that not a single officer had deserted Akbar and the Rajputs had gallantly repulsed his assaults. When he learnt that Akbar himself was coming with a large army

1 Although there is no definite evidence to show that Rajah Todar Mal's intrigue was one of the causes of Shah Mansur's execution, the Rajah was jealous of him and it was his report from Bengal that led to Shah Mansur's temporary imprisonment. The intrigue seems to have continued after his release and reappointment. The letters intercepted by Kotwal were said to have been forged by one Karmullah Kambu, brother of Shahbaz Khan Kambu at the instigation of some high officials, especially Todar Mal. Therefore, the jealousies and intrigues of his colleagues as well as his own treasur^uable conduct were responsible for the death of the Khwajah.

towards Lahore, he lost his nerve and fled precipitately from India. Akbar forbade pursuit, lest the Mirza's boat should be drowned in the confusion of flight. He himself proceeded to the frontier to organise the defences and laid the foundation of a strong fort at ~~Attack~~ to act as a bulwark against an invasion from Kabul. A message was sent to Mirza Hakim asking him to come and wait on him and settle terms, promising him forgiveness and safety. The Emperor expressed his willingness to pardon him even if the Mirza in stead of ~~countr~~^{coming} in person, sent his son with his sister Bakhtunnisa Begam or even Khwajah Hasan Naqshbandi to give a solemn assurance of his good behaviour in future. But the Mirza paid no heed to send a reply even.¹ Therefore, the Emperor ordered Man Singh to cross the Indus and proceed to Peshawar and Prince Murad was soon after sent to follow him at the head of a large army. Akbar was fearful of the fact, lest, frightened by the advance of the large army, Mirza Hakim should flee away and throw himself into the arms of an alien power like Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the ruler of Turan or Shah of Persia and with their help invade India. Hence the Emperor again sent another message to Mirza Hakim to come and offer allegiance so that his army might return from Pesh^awar. As there was no response from the Mirza,

1 A.N.III. p 524; T.A. II, pp. 545-547.

Akbar crossed the Indus on July 13, 1581 and ordered the main army to follow. This impression produced some effect and the Mirza sent Haji Habibullah with a message of loyalty, which was rejected by Akbar as the Mirza had not come in person and he expected some more substantial proof of his fidelity. Akbar now decided to march to Kabul but the nobles were already tired and were not willing to undertake a long tired some hill journey. Soldiers were afraid of snow and cold and showed their unwillingness for campaigning in Afghanistan. The Emperor consulted his nobles and held a meeting. Even Abul Fazl was found to be lukewarm and all decided unanimously against the march. But Akbar again brushed aside the advice of his nobles and told them that if they did not like to go they might remain behind but he was himself determined to go forward with his personal troops and without waiting further developments, he resumed his march towards Kabul.¹ His example had a salutary effect on the nobles, who also willy-nilly decided to follow him. On arriving at Surkhab, Akbar learnt that Prince Murad had won a victory over Mirza Hakim. The Mirza fled with his eldest son Qaiqubad to the hills of Ghurband. The Emperor pushed on and entered the fort of Kabul on 10 August, 1581 and held a splendid court and a banquet.²

1. A.N.III. pp. 524-528.

2. A.N.III. pp. 541-542; T.A. II, pp. 544-554.

Rebellion of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa

The rebellion of 1580-83 was a wide spread rising, not confined to ~~Bengal~~, Bihar and Bengal but it also embraced besides these two provinces, most of Orissa, the districts of Ghazipur and Benaras, and the provinces of Allahabad, Awadh and Katehar (modern Rohilkhand). Some of the nobles were deeply involved in the conspiracy and the rebels at the court had hatched a plot to kill Akbar and invite his brother Mirza Hakim to assume charge of Hindustan.¹ Akbar however, stood firm and showed patience, firmness as well as magnanimity in dealing with the nobles, his brother, and even the rebels. With the help of his devoted Rajputs and the trusted Iranis, Akbar drove away the invader and crushed the rebellion. The issues involved in this struggle were firstly, secularism versus theocracy and the Islamic state and secondly, the supremacy of the Crown on the one hand or that of the nobility and the Ulema on the other. The Crown won the contest. It was a triumph of secularism. Akbar was now free to work out his own liberal policy of toleration without being hampered by the unpatriotic nobility and a bigoted clergy. This was the last important rebellion of his nobles and after it was crushed the Emperor had no opposition to face from the old peers.

1 A.N.III. pp 449-450; T.A. II, p. 544.

CHAPTER VI

NOBLES AND ADMINISTRATION

Nobles at the Court

The court was the centre towards which the eyes of the nobles were always turned. As the appointments and promotions depended upon the will of the Emperor, the nobles usually wanted to stay at court and thereby remain near the Emperor so that jealous and envious people might not be able to do any harm or spoil their image in the eyes of the emperor. At the same time the Emperor had to govern the empire through the agency of his nobles and officers, therefore, he had to be careful that the power which he vested in them is not misused. But for obvious reasons all the nobles could not stay at court all the time, they had to go away from the court in obedience to the royal orders. Some of the nobles considered it their misfortune to be away from the court though they submitted to the royal will.¹

At the same time there were nobles who wanted to remain away from court either because they were lazy and did not want to work according to the emperor's satisfaction

1 In the 23rd R.V. Rajah Birbal was sent to Jalandhar in order that for some days he might serve at a distance and gather bliss by sympathies for helpless. Many Afghans had settled in Punjab.

- A.N. III(Tr.) p. 357.

or having some evil intentions they wanted to be away from the emperor's glance. When an officer was away from the court for a long time, the emperor naturally used to be anxious about him and ordered him to come to court to do homage. Often after paying the homage, he was allowed to go back to his old post. To do homage at court was considered to be an honour and it also exhibited the loyalty of the person.

When the Emperor came back after a victory or a long expedition to the capital, the high mansabdars used to come from different provinces to Court to prostrate and soon-after were allowed to go to their respective provinces. The idea behind was that by coming and prostrating before the Emperor, they gave proof of their loyalty and showed to the Emperor that during his absence from the capital they had harboured no evil intention and thereby satisfied the mind of the Emperor. If a particular governor was not in a position to come to court due to the circumstances prevailing in his province, he asked for excuse. The emperor generally allowed such nobles to come whenever they felt convenient and the circumstances in their province permitted them to come to court and thereby made their minds at ease. But if a high mansabdar did not come to the court on such occasions and remained in his province without excuse, it was considered to be a misconduct on the

part of the mansabdar and he was liable to be punished.

Generally, the nobles and the other officials were expected to attend the court daily.¹ If a noble absented himself for long from the court attendance, he was suspected of having evil intentions and eniour and jealous persons fabricated stories against him to spoil his image.

Monserate writes "In order to prevent the great nobles becoming insolent through the unchallenged enjoyment of power, the king summons to court those whom he learns to have become enriched by the revenues of their provinces and gives them many imperious commands as though they were his slaves."²

In case a noble stayed for a long time at the court, and was not sent away on any service far off from the court, the nobles began to doubt after the king's favouritism for that noble. In the 30th R.V. Abul Fazl expressed a desire to serve at a distance to justify the position he had acquired. He says, "I was strengthened in this desire by thinking that I might be able to do good service and also

1 In one of the letters Shaikh Abul Fazl instructed his younger brother Shaikh Abul Khair to go to the court daily.

See Har-Seh-Daftar-i- Abul Fazl (Luck edu. 1299) p. 143.

2 Monserate's Commentarius, p.90.

shut the mouths of those envious persons which were gates of impropriety." The lots were cast between Abul Fazl and Rajah Birbal. The result was in Birbal's favour. Therefore, Rajah Birbal was sent to Swad (Jan. 1586 A.D.).¹

When a noble wished to perform pilgrimage to Mekkah he had to take permission from the emperor. Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam went to Mekkah without permission and when he came back, his mind was disturbed that the emperor had intentionally kept him away from the court.² In the 41st R.Y. he made a request to the Emperor Akbar to give him a jagir near the court because he wanted to serve near the court to amend his former misconduct of going to Mekkah without permission. His request was granted and he

1 A.N.III (Tr.) p. 719-20.

2 Badauni tells us that in the 38th R.Y. in accordance with the decree that all the amirs of the frontier, at the end of a certain fixed period should come to court which was a wise measure, a farman was sent to Aazm Khan, who for a period of six years had absented himself from court, ordering him to repair to court. The emperor took away from him Junagarh (the capital of Surat), which he had conquered and gave it to Rajah Man Singh. Mirza Aziz Kokah left for the Hijaz without permission instead of going to court.

was given Multan in jagir.¹

Great nobles used to come to court from the far off provinces on Nauroz (New Year Festival celebrations) to pay homage to the emperor and thereby prove their faithfulness. In one of the letters written to Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam, Abul Fazl writes, if he could not come to court on the Nauroz, he ^w could come afterwards.² It seems that it was expected from the great nobles to come to court on the Nauroz and in case they were not in a position to come they had to take permission to stay.

The mansabdars were not a stationary force as is clear from the above description. They were not expected to remain in attendance at the court always. Though a few persons were always kept near the court for some personal reasons. The author of Iqbalnamah says Darbar Khan's (a noble under Akbar) name was Mirza Inayat but he was called Darbar Khan because he was always present at court and the emperor used to listen stories from him. He was a great favourite of the emperor.³ Dastam Khan (another noble under Akbar) was always at court with the emperor except

1 A.N.III (Tr.)p.1068.

2 Har-Seh-Daftar-i-Abul Fazl (Luck.Edn. 1299)p.129.

3 A.N. II, 343,n.1.; ~~Iqbal~~.

for three years. At the time of his death Akbar said that since the time of his birth he spent only three years without him and that even his mother could not feel the loss as much as he did because Dastam with the exception of three years, had never been away from him.¹ About Mirza Jani Beg of Thattah (a noble under Akbar) the author of the Zakhirat says that he always remained near the emperor.²

The mansabdars at any particular time could be divided into two groups. The tainat-i-raqab or Hazir-i-rakab were those who were posted at the court; and the tainat-i-e-subajat were those who were posted in the provinces. Those of higher grades were posted as Subedars or governors of provinces or Wardens of Marches on the Frontiers and when they were away from court on duty they were known as tainat-i-subajat. But those who were with the emperor at court in the capital or outside the capital on an expedition, were known as tainat-i-raqab.³ They had to mount guards and perform other duties which the emperor ordered. This division was based purely on the postings of the officers, who were frequently transferred from one group to another.

1. Ain.I, Bloch, p.436; A.N.III(Tr.) p. 479-80.

2 Z.K. I, pp. 179-180. ✓

3 Army of the Indian Mughals, Irwine, p.9. ✓

When high mansabdars, governor or amirs were transferred from one province to another, they were expected to present themselves at the court before proceeding to their new appointment. The purpose was to thank the emperor for the favour shown by him and to celebrate the occasion in the emperor's presence. The emperor also utilized the opportunity, thus given to him to give instructions to the noble about the management of the new province. After receiving the instructions, he was allowed to proceed to the new appointment.

But in case the transfer was made due to some fault committed by the noble's he was not permitted to come to court. Only when he satisfied the mind of the emperor in the new appointment by his good service, he was allowed to come to court. ✓

The nobles could not come to court of their own free will. When a noble cherished a desire to see the emperor or to come to court owing to some other reasons, he was to send a petition to court, asking for permission to come.¹

1 When in the 30th R.Y. (1585-86 A.D.) Sadiq Khan came from Bengal without being summoned, he was not granted audience.

A.N. Vol.III(Tr.) p.699;

In 1574 A.D. it was brought to the royal hearing that Khan-i-Alam in reliance on the royal favour and clemency had come to court without obtaining a written permission from the Khan-i-Khanan, Munim Khan. As the observance of orders was a necessary part of rule, a rebuke was issued by the emperor and he was ordered off. A number

The petition was not always accepted. If the emperor thought that the noble's presence was essential in the province where he was serving, he did not permit him to come. Sometimes when the emperor found that the noble was very anxious to come to court and had an earnest desire to see him or he wanted to take the emperor's counsel on some important policy matters, he appointed another officer to take charge of the affairs and allowed the former officer to come to court. If an officer left his post to come to court without permission, he was liable to be punished and dismissed from his post. ✓

There was no hard and fast rule to divide the nobles into tainat-i-raqab or tainat-i-Subajat. The division was purely informal. But a number of factors were borne out by the emperor when he divided the nobles into these two groups. Those who possessed martial qualities, organising capacity and administrative abilities were posted in different parts of the empire and were not recalled to the court unless their presence was absolutely necessary. The nobles present at court were considered to ✓

contd..

of right thinking persons represented to the emperor that he had left his family in the camp and that for urgent business he had come rapidly and humbly to court. His Majesty received their explanations and allowed him an interview. He gained his wish and had permission to return.

A.N. Vol.III(Tr.) pp. 147-148.

be a reserve force and could be employed by the emperor at any time to lead an expedition. Consequently, military commanders of high rank and ability, having qualities of fine generalship, shrewdness and high diplomatic skill were often kept at the court to be available to the emperor for any military enterprise required. Some of the boon companions whose separation, the emperor could not tolerate also remained at the court near the emperor. Such persons always or most of the time remained at court with the emperor whether he was in the capital or away on an expedition. They used to be witty and ~~numerous~~ persons whose presence in the court was like a blooming flower in the garden. The nobles like Rajah Birbal, Darbar Khan, Dastam Khan mentioned above come in this category. The emperor found pleasure in their company and used to enjoy himself with their wits and jokes. Darbar Khan was a story-teller who used to tell stories to Akbar. His father was a story teller in the court of Shah of Persia.¹ Rajah Birbal, another noble was a witty and jolly person who remained at court with the emperor and always entertained him with his humours.² His wits became so famous

1 A.N. Vol.II (Tr.) pp.³⁴³⁻344; AIN I Block P.517

2 Some scholars wrongly think that he was a mere courtier and held no post in the Mughal court. He was a noble of great merit and had a mansab of 2000. ✓ He was once appointed as a commander of a reinforcement sent to the North-west Frontier and died in the campaign. ✓ Twice he was sent as an envoy on a diplomatic mission. ✓

that they have come down to posterity. Shaikh Abul Fazl, a great noble, was also an intimate friend of the emperor and generally remained at court with the emperor. Once he was appointed in the Deccan and was murdered on the way when he was coming back to court. Naturally the nobles who always remained at court and enjoyed the confidence of the emperor became an eye-sore to the other nobles who always intrigued to separate them from the emperor and send them away from court.

This was also in the interests of the empire and the well being of the emperor to keep a large force, having competent generals present at court. It minimised the danger of a coup d'etat by a powerful general. The measure was essential for the security of the country and depicts the vigilance exercised by Akbar.

Court Etiquette

" When His Majesty seats himself on the throne, all that are present perform the kornish, and then remain standing at their places according to their rank, with their arms crossed, partaking, in the light of his imperial countenance, of the elixir of life and enjoying everlasting happiness in standing ready for service. The eldest prince places himself when standing, at a distance of one to four yards from the throne, or when sitting, at

a distance from two to eight. The second prince stands from one and one-half to six yards from the throne and in sitting from three to twelve. So also the third; but sometimes he is admitted to a nearer position than the second prince and at other times both stand together at the same distance. But His Majesty generally places the younger princes nearer. Then come the Elect of the highest rank, who are worthy of the spiritual guidance of His Majesty, at a distance of three to fifteen yards, and in sitting from five to twenty. After this follow the senior grandees from three and a half yards and then the other grandees, from ten or twelve and a half yards from the throne. All other stands in the yasal. One or two attendants stand nearer than all."¹ ✓

When Bairam Khan came to court in 1560 A.D. to submit, he was asked to sit on the right hand of the emperor as was the custom when he was the Wakil or the Prime Minister. Munim Khan, the new Wakil was asked to sit beside him. The other officers were asked to take their places according to their ranks.²

¹ Ain I, Bloch, Tr. pp. 168-169. Yasal signifies the wing of an army and here the two wings in which the assembly is divided. The place before the throne remains free. One wing was generally occupied by the grandees of the court and the chief functionaries; on the other wing stood the Qur, the Mullas and the Ulema etc. p. 169.n.1. ✓

² A.N. II. (Tr.) p.181. ✓

When at court, the nobles had to appear twice a day-morning and evening, before the emperor. Sometimes a noble was exempted from this duty on the ground of illness or due to some urgent private business. When a Prince was given the charge of a campaign, the nobles were expected to appear at court before the prince daily. In the audience hall or diwan-i-am and on ceremonial occasions, certain rules and regulations were strictly observed for placing the nobles in their proper order of precedence. Different rows were fixed for the nobles of different ranks and status and every noble had to stand at his appointed place.

During the proceedings of the darbar no noble was permitted to sit. Once the emperor had taken his place on the throne, no-one was permitted to leave his position without the emperor's permission. No one was allowed to present a petition to the emperor directly. Except with the permission of the emperor, no one could come armed in the darbar or to the emperor's private audience, diwan-i-khas. Everybody was expected to come on foot to the darbar. No one could enter the court on horse. When Shah Abul Maali came to the court on horse and wished the emperor, sitting on the horse-back, it was considered a breach of court etiquette and he was sent to prison. It is clear that the rules and regulations to be observed at court were strictly

enforced and the breach of court etiquette or any misconduct in the court was punished.

No one could come in a drunken state to the court, and call abuses or use filthy language in the court. In 1571 A.D. Lashkar Khan, who held the posts of Mir Bakshi and Mir Arz and was a noble of great eminence came in day time to the court drunken and made a disturbance. He was caused to be let round and tied to a horse's tale,¹ and then sent to prison. Shahbaz Khan Kambu was then made Mir Bakshi and Mir Arz. Afterwards he was forgiven and released at the intercession of favourites, and again taken in favour. It was forbidden to come in a Palki (palanquin) within the gulal-bar or the enclosure of the Emperor's residence.

The most important duty which the mansabdars had to perform when at court was mounting guard (chauki) at the Palace. The practice was started by Akbar. Travernier says,

1 A.N. vol. II (Tr.) pp. 529-30; In the 17th R.Y. when Shahbaz Khan, who was the Amir Tozak, was engaged in arranging the procession, Baba Khan Qaqshal behaved rudely to Shahbaz Khan and when Akbar learnt about this, he ordered Baba Khan to be severely punished.

A.N. II (Tr.) p. 538.

says," The first court is, as I have elsewhere said, it is that the Omarahs (nobles) stay while they are on guard. For it should be remarked that one of the Omarahs mounts guard every week. He disposes, both in the court, as also about the Emperor's palace or tent when he is in the field, the cavalry under his command, and many elephants. The best of these Omarahs command 2,000 horses, but when a prince of the blood royal is on guard, he command upto 6,000."¹ ✓

Abul Fazl gives detailed rules and regulations about mounting guard. He says," There are three kinds of guards. The four division of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy mansabdar. Another fully acquainted with all ceremonies at court is appointed as Mir Arz. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the Mir Arz, and the Commander of the Palace). They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders, His Majesty may issue."² ✓ It means the mansabdar who mounted guard was called commander of the Palace and he was expected

1 Tavernier, I, pp. 302-3.

2 Ain I Bloch (Tr.) p. 267.

to be acquainted with all ceremonies at court.

Akbar himself generally inspected the guards. In the evening, the Imperial Qur¹ was used to be taken to the State Hall. The mounting guards stood on the right; the ranks of the guards to be relieved were drawn up on the other side. Akbar took notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers. Both ranks then saluted the emperor.² When the emperor himself was busy in important affairs of the state and could not spare time to inspect the guards, he used to send one of the princes to inspect the guards. Akbar paid much attention to the guards. If anyone remained absent without having a proper excuse, or from laziness, he was fined one week's pay, or received a suitable reprimand. The object behind was to teach the soldiers their duties and to keep the army efficient. The imperial army had been divided into twelve parts, each of which mounted guard for the space of one month. This gives all troops, whether near or far, an opportunity to come to court³ and to partake of the

1 Ain I, Bloch (Tr.)p.116.

2 Ibid., p. 267.

3 Abul Fazl says that out of the 12 divisions of the army, one was selected in turn to come to court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty.
-Ain I, Bloch (Tr.)p.268.

liberality of His Majesty. But those who were stationed at the frontiers or sent off for any important duty, merely sent the reports of their exact condition and continued to perform His Majesty's special orders. On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on the weekly parades and are then distinguished by royal marks of favour, " says Abul Fazl.¹ ✓

Travernier makes it clear that the high mansabdars mounted guards for one week. He says, "The principal nobles mount guard on every Monday, each in his turn, and they are not relieved before the end of the week. Some of these nobles command 5000, or 6000 horses and encamp under their tents around the town."² ✓

Then there were other customs and traditions which the nobles had to follow. When the emperor returned after settling the affairs of a province or appointing officers of a newly conquered territory, the great nobles and officers of the province accompanied the emperor to a few stages and then took leave from the emperor to go back to their charge. Even if a prince was given the charge of the

1 Ain I. Bloch(Tr.) pp. 267-268.

2 Travernier, I, p.126.

province, he had to follow the same tradition and accompany the emperor to the few stages.

Similarly when the emperor left the capital for a campaign or on an expedition, the nobles in charge of the capital accompanied the emperor to a few stages to see him off and then took leave to go back to the capital.

When the emperor returned to the capital, the great nobles went forward ~~to~~ a few stages from the capital to welcome the emperor.¹ In the 18th R.Y. (1573 A.D.) Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Khwajah Jahan came to Basawar from the capital to welcome Akbar who was returning from Gujarat after the second expedition to that place.² The high nobles and governors from the far off provinces too used to come and report about the affairs of their provinces in His absence and to congratulate the emperor on the success of the expedition.

Sometimes when a great noble took permission from the emperor to proceed to his appointment, the emperor himself went off a few stages to see off the nobles after giving them instructions. It seems that this honour was given only to the nobles of the rank of 5000 and above.³

1 A.N. II, p. 356.

2 A.N. III(Tr.)p.91.

3 A.N. II, p. 290,n.

When Munim Khan, Khan-i-khanan(mansabdar of 5000) left for Kabul, Akbar and some other nobles came from Agra with him to Sikandara and bade him good-bye.¹

At the time of departure, sometimes the Emperor presented horses and robes of honour (khilats') to the persons who were departing, Bayazid tells us that he was given a horse and a robe of honour.²

When Shaikh Abul Fazl(mansabdar of 5000) proceeded to Nasik (his appointment) Prince Sultan Daniyal came to the first stages to see him off and gave him a ^{special} ~~danger~~ and a noted ~~elephant~~ of honour.³

As the emperor himself could not go everywhere sometimes he sent the royal insignia to inspire the nobles. When Akbar went against Ali Quli, Khan-i-Zaman in Bihar reaching Jaunpur, he sent Asaf Khan, Majnun Khan and Shah Mohammad Qandahari against the rebels and sent the royal insignia (Qur Badshahi)⁴ in charge of Wazir Jamil so that the officers might be able to perform kornish and pay their due respects and be jealous in service.⁵

1 Bayazid, p. 254 ✓

2 Ibid. pp 303, 307 ✓

3 A.N. III Tr. p. 1201

4 See Ain I, Bloch(Tr.)p.50 n.4.

5 A.N. Vol.II,p.380(Trn.)

When the emperor went to a particular province at the request of the governor of that province, it was a custom that the governor should go forward from his station to welcome the emperor.¹ Sometimes he sent another high noble much in advance to himself. When the emperor Akbar came to the eastern provinces in 1574 A.D., and reached sherpur, Rajah Todar Mal came from the siege and did homage to the emperor. He reported on the state of the army and asked for His orders about the coming of Munim Khan, Khan-i-khanan (the governor of the province of Bihar) as an istiqbal (coming to welcome) and as to how far he should come. The order was that as the sieze was going on, he should not come further than two kos (four miles) and that the other officers should remain at their posts in the entrenchments. At the same night the Rajah got leave to go back.² It seems that in peace conditions, the governor was expected to come more than two kos in advance for the emperor's istiqbal.

Many ceremonies of the court were considered to be royal prerogatives which except the emperor nobody could perform. One of these prerogatives was the holding of elephant-fights. No noble or officer could hold elephant-

1 A.N. Vol. III (Tr.) p. 135.

2 A.N. Vol. III (Tr.) p. 133.

fights. Similarly, the emperor alone could confer titles and distinctions upon his officers. If anybody else did this, it was considered to be an act of rebellion.¹ After a victory the emperor alone could offer thanks to God and nobody else could perform the thanks giving ceremony. In 1561 A.D., after the conquest of Malwa, Adham Khan, son of Maham Angah, personally returned thanks to God and performed the rites of thanks-giving (distribution of alms etc.) to the extent of his ability. In order to gratify the imperial officers he held a great feast and made presents according to his own pleasures to all the servants who were in his company.² This was the exercise of the royal prerogative and Akbar himself went to Malwa to punish Adham Khan for several of his rebellious acts.

The real object of these detailed rules of court etiquette was to impress upon the nobles the magnitude of the imperial prestige and authority and to keep them in awe. Today all this paraphernalia may seem ridiculous and absurd but in the medieval ages it was essential to keep the outward show of strength. It was the policy of the emperor to maintain these pomp and show as jealousy as possible, so that the nobles realize, that, however great and powerful they might be, they were nothing when compared

1 In the Bengal rebellion (1580-83 A.D.), the officers conferred titles and distinctions. AN. III, Tr. PP 449-450

2 A.N. Vol.II(Tr.)pp. 214-15.

with the emperor and that their authority, power and greatness depended entirely on the sweet will of the emperor. At the same time he also wanted to impress the common people that they may realise that even the great amirs and officers were merely his servants and that the loyalty of His subjects was commanded by him alone. Finally, Akbar wanted to impress the foreign rulers of Central Asia, and Persia with the grandeur of the court.

Honours and Titles

Honours and distinctions were conferred on the nobles, the officers and the mansabdars from time to time. These honours often served as an incentive for good service and the officers put forth their best efforts. Among the marks of honour bestowed by Akbar, the most important were titles, robes of honour, standards, kettle-drums and presents such as horses, elephants, jewelled daggers, waist-belt (kamar) etc.

In the time of the emperor Humayun the highest title was that of 'Tarkhan'.¹ It was given to one Maulana Nuruddin Mohammad. It is important to note that though he had

1 Tarkhan was a Mughal title which was hereditary for nine generations and carried with it extraordinary privileges (Ain. I, Bloch, p.364). By these verses it would appear that Nuruddin Mohammed Tarkhan claimed ~~that~~ to be a Tarkhan by hereditary right, whereas Akbar first conferred on him the title of Khan and then that of Tarkhan, the latter, however, being merely an honorary title, without any of the substantial privileges formerly

the highest title, he did not hold the highest office of the empire. Maulana Nuruddin Mohammed continued to enjoy the title of Tarkhan even in Akbar's reign. It shows that Akbar confirmed the nobles in their titles which they enjoyed in his father's reign.¹ In the account of 1578-79, Abul Fazl tells us that Sultan Khwajah was made a Tarkhan and appointed to the office of Sadr. The author of Iqbalnamah says that in the 23rd R.Y. (1578-79 A.D.) of Akbar's reign, Sultan Khwajah came from the journey and the emperor gave him the mansab (office) of Sadr and the honour of Tarkhan.² ✓ Mirza Jani Beg and his son Mirza Ghazi Beg who were nobles under Akbar had the titles of Tarkhan.³ ✓

(contd..)

attached to it. The same was the case with his earlier title of Khan. M.T.Vol.III(Haig Tr.)p.275,n.1 and pp. 218-19,note 5. It is probable that Akbar first took away the previous titles conferred upon by his father and then he himself granted the same titles held by them previously. ✓

2. Iqbal II, p.326; A.N.III(Tr.) p.382.

1. "All the signors of Sirdars (Siran-u-Sirdaran), all the generals and generalissimas, and the other pillars of the empire and eyes of sovereignty, gave their allegiance to that lofty-lineaged (Akbar) one from the bottom of their hearts and with a sincere conscience and ratified the compact and loyalty by an Oath to God." Says Abul Fazl, A.N.II(Tr.)p.9.

3 Jahangir writes that Tarkhan was a hereditary title and Mirza Ghazi Beg was of the ruling family of Thattah of the tribe of Tarkhani. Tuzuk, p.223, Abul Fazl says that Mirza Jani Beg of Thattah and his son Mirza Ghazi Beg both had titles of Tarkhan. (Both were nobles under Akbar) A.N. III(Tr.)p. 1257; Maasir I (Tr.) pp. 582-83.

The highest title in the time of Akbar was that of Khan-i-Khanan. Bairam Khan held this title in emperor Mumayun's reign and emperor Akbar confirmed him in this title. He was the first person to receive this title in the time of Akbar. He was also given the highest office of the empire viz., Wakil-us-Sultanate. "The binding and loosing of the affairs of the Caliphate, the gathering and despatching of the armies of victory were committed to him."¹

In 1560 A.D. when Bairam Khan was dismissed from his office, the title of Khan-i-khanan was given to Munim Khan and he too was appointed to the highest office of Wakil-us-Sultanate. After his death in 1575 A.D. nobody was given this title for sometime and the title of Khan-i-Khanan remained in abeyance. Perhaps Akbar found no person suitable to be honoured with this title.

^dAbur Rahim, son of Bairam Khan was given the title of Mirza Khan in the beginning. In 1584 A.D. he was given the high title of Khan-i-khanan and this title he continued to hold till his death in Emperor Jahangir's reign. Thus only three persons enjoyed the title of Khan-i-Khanan in the reign of Akbar.

¹ A.N. Vol.II(Tr.) p.9.

The analysis of the history of Akbar's reign brings to light certain ~~increasing~~ interesting features regarding the conferment of the title of Khan-i-Khanan. Firstly, it was generally bestowed on the highest dignitary of the realm and numerous privileges were associated with it. It carried with it the privilege of standard, drums, tumantagh and the honorific title of Amir-ul-Umrah.¹

Secondly, it could be held only by one person at a time and once conferred neither it could be taken back nor it could be conferred on anybody else till the death of the holder. The only way to take it back was to dismiss the holder as was done in the case of Bairam Khan . Otherwise the holder was free to enjoy it life long.

Thirdly, the hereditary relations were not of so much importance, as the personal ~~breavery~~, courage and truthful service of the noble for the conferment of this title. Bairam Khan was though a khanazad (his ancestors ~~being the servants of the Mughal empire~~), his father did

1 Jahangir says when he conferred the title of Amir-ul-Umarah on Mohammad Sharif, son of Khwajah Abdus Samad in the 1st R.Y. (1605 -6 A.D.) that "I conferred upon him the lofty title of Amir-ul-Umarah to which no title of my servants is superior. He is at once ~~my~~ my brother, my friend, my son, my companion, when he came back I felt as if I had received new life. I am now emperor, but consider no title sufficiently high to reward him for his excellent qualities, though I can do no more than make him Amir-ul-Umarah and a commander of 5000. My father never did more."

-Tuzuk I, p.14; Ain I, Bloch, p.583.

not hold any important office. It was by virtue of his own long and faithful service that he was made the ataliq (guardian) of Prince Akbar and given the title of Khan-i-Khanan in Humayun's reign.¹ Munim Khan was not a Khanazad but a trustful amir of Humayun and the ataliq of Mirza Hakim, the younger brother of Akbar.²

Abdurrahim was though a Khanazad, it was for his personal bravery in the Gujarat campaign that he was given the title of Khan-i-Khanan. In 1584 A.D. Akbar conferred this title on Abdurrahim and gave him the rank of 5000.³ Earlier Akbar had honoured him with the title of Mirza Khan and married him to Mah Bano Begam, sister of Khan-i-Azam. ~~(In 1576 - A.D. (984 A.H.)~~ In 1576 - A.D. (984 A.H.) he was appointed to Gujarat. In the 25th R.Y. (1580 - A.D.⁴) he was promoted to the office of Mir Arz and three years later, he was appointed ataliq (guardian) of Prince Sultan Salim. Shortly after he was sent to suppress the rebellion of Muzaffar Gujarati who had seized the imperial treasures and raised an army of 40,000 troops. As Abdurrahim had only 10,000 troops under his command, he was advised by his

1 Madin-i-Akbar-i-Ahmadi by Ahmad, No 83 Rotograph Departmental Library ALIGARH P.148b. ✓

2 MUNIM KHAN KHAN-I-KHANAN, 1497-1575 by ISTADAR ALAM KHAN P.21

3 A.N.III.(Tr.)p.643;M.T. II, (Lowe) p.52; Ain I, Bloch, p. 355.

4. A.N.III Ty. P. 439.

officers to wait for the arrival of reinforcements from Malwa but Daulat Khan Lodi, Mir Shamshir reminded him "not to spoil his laurels and claims to Khan-i-Khananship". This was enough to spur him into action. Abdurrahim instantly attacked Muzaffar Gujarati and defeated him in the battle of Sarkhej. On the arrival of reinforcements from Malwa he again defeated him near Nadot and put him to flight. Akbar was immensely pleased with his achievements and thereupon raised him to the rank of 5000 and gave him the high title of Khan-i-Khanan. Thus it is clear that the award of this title depended upon proofs of merit, courage and capacity to handle affairs in difficult situations. Incidentally, it may be mentioned here, that all the three persons on whom the title was ~~confered~~ had previously served as ataligs of the princes and given proof of their loyalty and had also served as commanders of the imperial forces and thus held important positions in the Mughal Court. At the time of conferment of this great title, overall achievements and contributions of the person were minutely scrutinised. ✓

Fourthly, the ~~title~~ of Khan-i-Khanan was not indicative of the highest office. It was a matter of chance that Bairam Khan and Munim Khan who enjoyed this title, also held the highest office of Wakil. Abdurrahim was given the title of Khan-i-Khanan but ~~w~~ he was not given the highest

office.¹ Even the office of Wazir was never given to him. In fact no important appointment of office was made to him. Afterwards in the end of the reign, some of the nobles rose to the rank of 7000 but Abdurrahim remained the mansabdar of 5000 and he continued to enjoy the title of Khan-i-Khanan. It seems that after he had received the title of Khan-i-Khanan, he became reluctant in the exercise of his duties and did nothing so chivalrous ~~and~~ that his mansab could be raised.

Fifthly, the titles could be conferred only on imperial servants and officers. When in 1564 A.D. the ambassador of Shah Tahmasp of Persia arrived in Akbar's court, he begged that Sultan Mahmud of Bhakhar might obtain Khanlar Khani, i.e. of Khan-i-Khanan but Akbar turned down his request on the ground that 'as there were officers greater than he, who, from knowing their position and from perceiving the nature of their predecessors, had not asked for this appointment'.² When Sultan Mahmud failed in this attempt, he sent much gold as a present to the Shah of Persia through the ambassador, with the idea that perhaps by his recommendations to Akbar, he might succeed in the

1 Though Akbar did not always appointed Wakil and the office of Wakil was often held vacant and the duties of Wakalat were performed by the emperor himself.

2 A.N.Vol.II (Tr.)p.358.

fulfilment of his desire. The Shah made recommendations to Akbar but Akbar who appreciated merit and justice, did not agree and consequently the request of the Shah was declined.

Abul Fazl says that the currency required was merit, not recommendation especially when a person like Munim Khan held this office, Akbar could not do injustice with him. The reasons for not conferring this title on the ambassador were many. Firstly- this title was already held by Munim Khan and Akbar could not confer the same title on another person during the lifetime of its holder. Secondly, the conferment of the same title on another person would have created complications, both political and administrative. There was no justification for granting a title to a person who was not in the imperial service and had no record of loyal service at the Mughal Court and conferment of so great a title on a foreigner must have annoyed the old and faithful officers of the Mughal Court who had long served the Mughal emperors in the hope of getting this title. Had Akbar granted the title to the ambassador, it would have given rise to a political crisis. Thirdly, the title carried with it certain privileges and the conferment of the title on the ambassador would have been an encroachment on the privileges of Munim Khan and ~~the~~ must have felt disgruntled. ✓

Dr. Radhey Shyam thinks that granting a title to a person who was not in the Mughal service but in the service of Shah Tahmasp, the ruler of Persia, would have been considered as an encroachment upon the rights of another sovereign.¹ In my opinion, Shah of Persia was corrupted by gold and he himself made recommendation to Akbar to confer the above title on the ambassador. It would not have been considered an encroachment on the rights of another sovereign, when the sovereign himself made the request. On the contrary, he must have felt humiliated when Akbar declined his request. Further it is possible that had Akbar granted him the title of Khan-i-Khanan, he might have joined Akbar's service. Otherwise the grant of the title by Akbar had no meaning. In fact the recommendation for the grant of the title by the Shah of Persia meant that he should be allowed to join the Mughal service and given the highest position. ✓

Finally, there was no practice of conferring titles on ambassadors, Akbar respected the old practices which were ✓

1 See Dr. Radhey Shyam's article 'Honours, ranks, titles under the Great Mughals', Journal of Islamic Culture, Oct. 1973, pp. 335-353.

useful, he very cleverly declined the request of the Shah and dismissed the emperor.¹

Next in importance was the title of Khan-i-Aazm. It was conferred upon Shamsuddin Khan Atgah, who was the foster-father of Akbar. It was almost equal in prestige to the title of Khan-i-Khanan. When Bairam was given the title of Khan-i-Khanan, there was no other noble who could be his rival in power. After the dismissal of Bairam Khan, Munim Khan was made the Khan-i-Khanan and was given the post of Wakil. To put a check on his growing power, Akbar raised Shamsuddin Atgah Khan to almost equal status. He received the Fathu dress of Bairam Khan, a robe of honour, an Iraqi horse and the title of Khan-i-A'azam (or Aazam Khan). After his death, the title of Khan-i-Aazam was given to Mirza Aziz Kokah, son of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan. He continued to hold this title till his death in the reign of Jahangir. Thus only two persons received this title in Akbar's reign. After the organisation of the mansabdari

1 No doubt the Shah himself had made the ~~request~~ recommendation but he might have done so under pressure of Sultan Mahmud of Bhakhar and to please his own ambassador. Had Akbar granted him the title of Khan-i-Khanan, he would have joined Akbar's service. Then it would have been considered by the Shah that Akbar is attracting his officers by giving them coveted offices. Akbar was wise enough and he cleverly declined to abide by and then give rise to speculations. ~

The Shah of Persia conferred the Title of Khan on Bairam Beg in Persia when Humayun was there.

system, the mansab determined the position of a noble in the official hierarchy and not the title of the noble. Mirza Aziz Kokah became a mansabdar of 7,000 and had the title of Khan-i-Aazm whereas Abdurrahim had a mansab of 5,000 and had the ~~xxxx~~ title of Khan-i-Khanan. The status of Mirza Aziz Kokah was higher than that of Abdurrahim though the latter enjoyed the highest title of the empire.

Other important titles having the suffix of Khan prevalent under Akbar were those of Khan-i-Jahan, Khwajah-i-Jahan, Khan-i-Aalam, Khan-i-Dauran, Shujaat Khan, Sadiq Khan, Muzaffar Khan, Afzal Khan, Tatar Khan, Lashkar Khan, Shahbaz Khan, Mihtar Khan, Asaf Khan, Mirza Khan, Murtaza Khan, Nageeb Khan, Inayat Khan.¹

In the Sultanate period, the ranking of the nobility in the ascending order was Malik, Amir and Khan. Under the Mughals, the title of Malik fell out of favour. The title of Beg which symbolised a great honour under Babar and Humayun fell out of favour in the reign of Akbar.² In fact

1 In the 22nd R.Y. Shaikh Farid got the title of Muztaza Khan. Iqbal II, p.318. In the 18th R.Y. Abdurrahim got the title of Mirza Khan; Khwajah Mir Ghiyasuddin Ali Akhund had the title of Nageeb Khan, Khwajah Ghiyasuddin Ali Bakshi had the title of Asaf Khan and Shah Fakhruddin Mashhadi had the title of Inayat Khan, Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I, pp. 794-797.

2 Abrol says that in the reign of Babar, amirs were called Beks. NOBILITY UNDER BABUR AND HUMAYUN By P.K. ABROL.

Beg became a title inferior to that of Khan in Hindustan and Beglar-beg was deemed to be lower than the title of Khan-i-Khanan.

In the reign of Akbar nobody below the rank of 500 could be called an amir (noble) and nobody below the rank of 1000 could be given the title of Khan. The title of Khan deemed to be very prestigious. There were several categories of its holders (a) those who only enjoyed the title of Khan, (b) those enjoying the title of Khan together with the rank of 1000, (c) having the suffix of Khan with the honour of a flag, (d) those enjoying the title (like Lashkar Khan etc.) having the suffix of Khan with higher mansabs.¹

In the reign of Akbar, Takhta Beg Kabuli was in the 40th R.Y., an amir of the rank of 700.² In the 49th R.Y. he was given the title of Khan and raised to the rank of Khanship.³ In the first R.Y. of Jahangir, he was raised from the mansab of 2,500 to 3000 and was given the title of Sardar Khan.⁴

1 See the article 'Honours, ranks and titles under the Great Mughals' by Dr. Radhey Shyam, J.I. (Dec. 1973).

2 Ain I, Bloch, p. 523; T.A. II, p. 682 (B. De).

3 A.N. III (Tr.) p. 1247; Ain I, Bloch, p. 523; Iqbal II, p. 504.

4 Tuzuk, I, pp. 31, 71, 76; Ain I Bloch, p. 523.

The title of Khan appears to be higher than that of Sultan. Jan Mohammad Sultan Bahasudi, after the victory over Bairam Khan was recommended for the title of Khan and he received the same in the 5th R.Y. (1569-61 A.D.).¹

It may be pointed out that after the conferment of the title, a person was known by his title and not by his original name. If he received a fresh title, he was known by the latest title and not by the old title. For example, when Abdurrahim was given the title of Mirza Khan, he became famous as Mirza Khan and is referred to as Mirza Khan in the contemporary accounts but when he got the title of Khan-i-Khanan, he was known as Khan-i-Khanan.² Further no two nobles could have the same title at the same time, though many of the titles were given after the death of its holders.

While conferring the title of Khan due regard was paid to the lineage of the grantee, his length and record of service and his nationality. Great care was exercised lest a person who had not reached the requisite status be given the title of Khan. An element of hereditary is found

1 A.N.II (Tr.) p.184.

2 Thus a title once conferred served officially as the name of the noble concerned.

in the award of the titles. If one of the sons of a deceased noble attained to eminence, he was generally awarded his father's title in course of time. In Akbar's reign we find Abdurrahim received his father's title of Khan-i-Khanan; Mirza Aziz Kokah received his father's title of Khan-i-Aazm though he was the younger son; Zahid received his father's title of Sadiq Khan. The son of the deceased noble was the first claimant to his father's title, if he distinguished himself and proved himself worthy of the title. Therefore the sons of the great nobles strove hard to receive their father's titles. It also served as an incentive to work hard. Other nobles also tried their best to receive the titles which were previously held by great nobles.

A number of titles were reserved for different persons and nationalities, while some titles were reserved for persons of different professions. Foster-brothers were known as Kokah and they also enjoyed special privileges and honours, Mirza Aziz Kokah, Adham Khan Kokah, Zain Khan Kokah, Saif Khan Kokah, Saadat Yar (Kokah), Yusuf Mohammad Khan Kokah etc. can be mentioned in this category. The princes of the royal blood enjoyed the title of Sultan. For example, Prince Sultan Salim, Prince Sultan Murad, Prince Sultan Daniyal, Prince Sultan Khusrau, Quraish Sultan

(ruler of Kashghar) etc. Then in the order of precedence was the title of Mirza. Members of the royal families bore the title of Mirza. For example, the nobles having the title of Mirza under Akbar were Mirza Sulaiman; Mirza Shahrukh, his son; Mozaffar Husain Mirza Safawi; Mirza Rustam Safawi etc. While Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Shahrukh were Turani nobles, Mirza Muzaffar Husain and Mirza Rustam were Irani nobles.¹ ✓

The title of Jumlat-ul-mulk was associated with the department of Wizarat.² It was conferred on Muzaffar Khan Turbati in 1573 A.D.,³ and it was connected with the office Diwani (Wizarat) and Wikalat. But he could enjoy this title only for a short time, because by some of his actions, he incurred the displeasure of the emperor and the latter deprived him of his office and his title.⁴ ✓

The title of Asaf Khan was purely Iranian in origin and it was also connected with the office of Diwani and Wikalat. It was conferred only on Iranian nobles. Asif was the name of the Wazir of Solomon and hence the title

1 See the article 'Honours, Titles and Ranks under the Great Mughals by Dr. Radhey Shyam. ✓

2 M.T. II, p.36.

3 M.T. II, p.36; M.U.II (Tr.)p.361. Masir - i - Rahimi. II p.805.

4 Ain I (Tr.) Bloch, pp. 395-98; M.U.I, p. 38. ✓

seems to have been derived from there.¹ The title of Asaf Khan was first conferred on Khwajah Abdul Majeed (Irani) in 1560 A.D. when he was appointed Sharif-i-Diwani.² He enjoyed the title till his death in 1573-74 A.D. After the death of Asaf Khan I, the title was conferred on Ghiyasuddin Ali (Irani) who became known as Asaf Khan II, ^{After the death of Asaf Khan I} the title was conferred on Mirza Jafar (Irani) and he was Asaf Khan III. He was the nephew of Ghiyasuddin Ali Asaf Khan II. He continued to hold this title in the reign of Jahangir. Thus three persons enjoyed the title of Asaf Khan in Akbar's reign.

The title of Ashraf Khan was conferred on Mir Munshi Mohammad Asghar (Irani) in the 6th R.Y. After his death the title of Ashraf Khan was granted to Mir Abu Turab (Irani) in the 48th R.Y. Thus the titles of Asaf Khan and Ashraf Khan appears to have been reserved for the Iranians. The title of Khan-i-Aalam was conferred thrice on three different persons during the reign of Akbar. In 1556 A.D. it was conferred on Iskandar (Sikandar) Beg Uzbek (Turani)³; in 1564 A.D., on Qalma Khan⁴ (Turani) and in 1580 A.D. on Jan Mohammad Behsudi⁵ (Turani). It appears that the

1 'Honours, Titles, Ranks under the Great Mughals' by Dr. Radhey Shyam, p.345.

2 A.N. Vol.II(Tr.)pp. 168-69.

3 A.N. vol II (Tr.) p.71.

4 A.N.II(Tr.)p.343.

5 A.N. III (Tr.) p. 449

title of Khan-i-Aalam was conferred on the Turanis alone.

Then there were titles which were reserved for the Hindu nobles such as the titles of Rajah, Rai, Rai Rayan, Rajah Bikramajit, Kaviraj etc. State regulations with regard to conferment of titles and ranks for the Hindus and the Muslims were the same. On the death of a Hindu Rajah it was the exclusive prerogative of the Mughal emperor to put the tikka and confer the title of Rajah on the successor of the deceased noble. The title of Rajah and the rank of 5000 were conferred by Akbar on Kunwar Man Singh after the death of his father Rajah Bhagwan Das in 1589 A.D. The same title was conferred on Salibahan but on different grounds. Salibahan was the head of the artillery department and had excelled as gunner. On account of his long service and merits, he was honoured with the title of Rajah.^{1a} Kunwar Man Singh got the title on the ground of hereditary while Salbahan got the title on the basis of meritorious services. Rai Singh of Bikanir got the title of Rai from Akbar.^{1b} The title of Rai Rayan, which was a prestigious title was conferred on Patra Das² and he was later honoured with the title of Rajah Bikramajit.³ In the

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1a. A. N. III (Tr.) P. 1223.

1b. Ain I. Bloch, PP. 384-86; A. N. II. (Tr.) P. 518;

After the death of Rai Rai Singh, his son Dalpat got the title of Rai in Jahangir's reign. M. U. II. Tr. PP. 570.71; Tuzuk, Tr. I, PP. 217-18.

2. Iqbal II. P. 500; Z. K. I, P. 238; Ain I, Bloch. P. 523; M. U. I (Tr.) P. 411

3. Iqbal, II. P. 500; Ain. I, Bloch. P. 524; M. U. I. (Tr) P. 412; A. N. III (Tr) P. 1239

life time of Rajah Bhagwan Das, his son was known as Kunwar Man Singh and after his father's death, he got the title of Rajah and came to be known as Rajah Man Singh. Similarly Rai Singh after his father Rai Kalyan Mal (of Bikaner)'s death received the title of Rai and came to be known as Rai Rai Singh. ✓

Rajah Birbal had the title of Rajah Birbal by which name he became popular. His original name was Kaviraj.¹ Kaviraj too seems to be his title. His original name was Mahesh Das according to Blochmann.² But Badaoni says that his name was Gadai Brahma. He first received the title of Kab-Rai (Kavi Ray), Prince of Poets or Poet Laureate) and afterwards 'Rajah Birbar(or Rajah Birbal, the renowned Warrior).³

It seems that the title of Khan was inferior to the title having the suffix Khan. Whereas the title of Khan could be held simultaneously by a number of persons, the title having the suffix of Khan could be held only by one person at a time. Further, whereas the title of Khan did not replace the name of the person, in the later case the

1 Z.K. I, p.183. ✓

2 Ain I, Bloch, p.442.

3 M.T.II, Lowe, p.164. ✓

original name of the person ~~who~~^{was} changed by the title. For example, Muzaffar Ali Turbati received the title of Khan and came to be known as Muzaffar Khan Turbati. Similarly when in the 7th R.Y. Khawjah Muinuddin Ahmad Farankhudi was distinguished among the Wazirs of the diwan-i-buytat for his ability and raised to the rank of Khan and came to be known as Khwajah Muinuddin Ahmad Khan Farankhudi.¹ In these cases the original name was not changed. But when Zahid, son of Sadiq Khan first received the title of Khan, he came to be known as Zahid Khan but soon afterwards when he received the title of Sadiq Khan, he came to be known as Sadiq Khan. Similarly Muqim Beg first received the title of Khan and came to be known as Muqim Khan but in the 9th R.Y. he received the title of Shujaat Khan, he came to be known as Shij^uaat Khan.² Muqim was first given the title of Khan and came to be known as Muqim Khan but later on he was given the title of Wazir Khan and became popular as Wazir Khan. Thus it is clear that the title having the suffix of Khan was higher than the title of Khan or the rank of Khanship. The general practice appears to be that at first, an amir was raised to

1 A.N.II(Tr.)pp. 260-61.

2 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I, p. 722; Iqbal, II, p.200.

the position of Khanship by the conferment of the title Khan and then he got the title of Khan having the suffix of Khan. But occasionally, the persons got the title having the suffix Khan directly without being raised to the position of Khanship and having received the title having the suffix of Khan, they automatically got the position of Khanship. Such cases are rare.

In the later reigns the practice established by Akbar was followed and once a title had been conferred on a particular noble, it was not given to anybody else so long as the first holder was alive. But if that title was to be conferred on any other persons, the original grantee was given a fresh title. Thus, only after the title holder had relinquished his old title for the new one, the old title could be conferred on the other noble. In the reign of Aurangzeb, the title of Khan-i-Jahan was granted to Bahadur Khan after it had been relinquished by Shaista Khan.¹ But in the time of Akbar, it appears that even when a person was granted a new title, his previous title was not given to anybody else. Pir Mohammad Sherwani first received the title of Nasirulmulk and afterwards that of Khan and he was first known as Nasirulmulk and afterwards as Pir Mummad Khan

¹ The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb by M. Athar Ali,
p. 140.

but the title of Nasirulmulk was not given to anybody else in the reign of Akbar. Abdurrahim was first given the title of Mirza Khan and afterwards that of Khan-i-Khanan but the title of Mirza Khan was not given to anybody else in the reign. Similarly Patr Das was first given the title of Rai Rayan and then of Rajah Bikramajit, but the title of Rai Rayan was not given to anybody else.

There were some titles which were conferred only once while there were others which were conferred more than once. To the former category belonged the titles of Afzal Khan, Bahadur Khan, Ghazi Khan, Khan-i-Dauran, Khan-i-Jahan¹, Khwajah-i-Jahan, Lashkar Khan, Shahbaz Khan, Mirza Khan etc. To the latter category belonged the titles of Khan-i-Khanan, Khan-i-Azam, Asaf Khan, Ashraf Khan and Khan-i-Alam etc.

Titles of Mirza and Rajah were considered to be equivalent in prestige and honour. In one of the letters Abul Fazl explains Mirza Aziz Kokah that he should not be angry with the emperor. The emperor had given him high position and there was no difference between Mirza and Rajah

1 In the 18th R.Y. Husain Quli Beg received the title of Khan-i-Jahan 'a title in reputation next to that of Khan-i-Khanan' says Bloch Mann, Ain I, Bloch, pp. 349-50; A.N.III, Tr. pp. 56-57.

(Rajah Man Singh).¹

I agree with Dr. Radhey Shyam's view that during the reign of Akbar comparatively large number of titles were conferred on Khanazads and Iranis. Akbar was much influenced by hereditary and family so far the conferment of mansabs and titles was concerned. This is borne out by the fact that occasionally preference was given to Khanazads and those who hailed from the noble families or belonged to the Iranian stock. The conferment of the titles on a large number of the Iranis is indicative of the fact that the Irani influence was gradually increasing.

Along with titles which served for the names of the nobles, elaborate sets of epithets, appellations and forms of address were prescribed for every important noble and had to be used in all official correspondence. For example Bairam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Itizad-i-daulat qahira (the stay of Victorious dominion)²; Khwajah Abdur Samad, Shirin-qalam (master of the Pen)³; Azad-ul-daulah⁴ (the Pillar of the empire), Amir Fathullah Shirazi; Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi, Malik-ush-Shaura; etc.⁵ ✓

1 Har-Seh-Daftar-i-Abul Fazl (Luck, 1299)p.131. ✓

2 A.N. Vol. II (Tr.)p.9.

3 Ain I Bloch PP 554-55; AN III (Tr.) P. 598

4 Ain III (Tr.) P.701 (Here the meaning is "Arm of the Empire")

5 Ain I . Bloch PP. 549-50 Malik-ush Shaura or Post-Laureate;

AN III, P.559.

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AN III, P. 559.

Generally titles were awarded at the ~~g~~time of the accession of the emperor, on the Persian New Year's Day (Nauroz) anniversary of the accession. On the birth anniversary of the emperor and on the day of a victory gained in a battle or campaign by the royal arms. Akbar's coronation at Kalanaur was a tame affair without any large scale festivities. Abul Fazl says, 'territory adorning officers and grandees of Chaghtai lineage (Turanis, the Mughal emperors too belonged to this line) whether those who had the bliss of serving in the presence, or were stationed in the provinces or on the borders to hold the territories or to subdue them, received, one and all, social marks of attention in addition to their being distinguished by royal favours, in accordance with their position and merit'.¹ It shows that the old officers were confirmed in their possessions, posts and honours. The first important and decisive event of the reign was the defeat of Hemu (1st Regnal year). This occasion was celebrated with the award of titles and jagirs.

Robes of honour (khilats) were presented to the nobles as a mark of imperial favour. These Khilats consisting

1 A.N. Vol.II(Tr.)p.9.

of three to seven pieces were of different varieties. Those granted as a special honour were called Khilat-i-Khas (or the personal robes of the emperor). When Khilat-i-Khas was awarded to anyone, the recipient had to salute (taslim) four times before and four times after putting on the khilat. In case of ordinary khilats four salutations were considered sufficient. The khilats were generally awarded on the same occasions on which titles were conferred, but sometimes khilats were sent to encourage the nobles and officers and sometimes after the victory to reward the officers when no title was given along with.

Grant of the personal robe of the emperor was considered to be a great honour and was conferred upon the great amirs only. In 1560 A.D. Akbar bestowed on Bairam Khan a glorious robe which he himself was wearing on his own breast.¹ In 1577 A.D. Qutbuddin Khan was presented a robe of honour called 'daqu' which was held in high esteem in the Mughal family.² The 'daqu' dress was conferred only on great amirs. Both Shamsuddin Atgah Khan and Qutbuddin Khan who were honoured with this khilat were

1 A.N.II(Tr.)p.181; Maasir-i-Rahimi, I,p.679.

2 A.N.III(Tr.)p.401.

the mansabdars of 5000. Both^{of}/them were given high titles when they were given these Khilats. Shamsuddin Khan Atgah received the title of Khan-i-Aazm and Qutbuddin Khan that of Beglar Begi. Generally when a title was ~~Bestowed~~ conferred on an individual, he was also presented a robe of honour. The conferment of the title along with a robe of honour was considered to be a great honour. Next in precedence, was the conferment of a title alone and then the presentation of a robe of honour alone.

In the 20th R.Y. (1675-76 A.D., 983 A.H.) Husain Quli Khan, Khan-i-Jahan was honoured with the rank of Amir-ul-Umarah. At the time of his appointment~~x~~ as the governor of Bengal, he was honoured with the gift of a gold embroidered Qaba, a robe of honour and a chahar qab (also a special kind of robe) of gold embroidery.¹

When a noble was dismissed from the service, his insignia of dignity used to be granted to another noble. When Bairam Khan was dismissed his flag, kettledrum and tumantogh (standard) were presented to Shamsuddin Mohammad Khan Atgah and after Shamsuddin won a victory over Bairam Khan, his daqu and fatahi dress (khilats) were also given

1 T.A. II, B.De, p.480.

to Shamsuddin.¹

In the 49th R.Y.. Khan-i-Azam was presented a gold embroidered Shawl, On the death of Miriam Makani (Akbar's mother) ~~first of all~~. Then gold embroidered Shawls were presented to all the mansabdars from the rank of 5,000 to that of 1,000; dopatta Gujarati Shawls were given to mansabdars from the rank of 900 to 500; embroidered (Kalabatun) Shawls were given to mansabdars from 400 to 100; plain shawls were given to mansabdars below 100. To the conspicuous ahadin^{47k} handkerchiefs were given.² ✓ In the R.Y. Qulij Khan received a special shawl.³ Mirza Shahrukh was presented a shawl in the 48th R.Y. It appears that the practice of presenting a shawl came in fashion in the end of Akbar's reign.⁴ ✓

Different standards were also conferred upon the nobles as a mark of honour. Abul Fazl describes the standards conferred by the emperor upon nobles:

" (1) The Alam or standard. When the king rides out, not less than five of these are carried along with the Qur (the Qur is a cXollection of flags, arms, and

1 The daqu dress (pelisse)- the word is of Arabic origin and means some valuable kind of dress. Fatahi probably means the robe of victory. A.N. II Tr.p.174 n.8,9.

2 A.N. III (Tr.), pp. 1245-56.

3 Ibid., p.1212.

4 Ibid., p. 1229.

other insignia which follow the king wherever he goes) wrapped up in scarlet cloth bags. On day of festivity and in battle, they are unfurled.

- (2) The Chatr toq, a kind of Alam but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Thibetan yaks.
- (3) The Tumantoq, is like the Chatrtoq but longer. Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only.
- (4) The Jhanda is an Indian flag. The Qur necessarily contains a flag of each kind but on great occasions many are displayed.¹

The 'Alam or standard could be awarded to the mansabdars of 1000 or above. The nobles below the rank of 1000 could not be awarded the Alam.²

In the 16th R.Y. Charqab was presented to Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan,³ and Iskandar Khan. In the 17th R.Y. as Rajah Bhagwan Das had shown his valour in the battle of Sarnal (Gujarat) he was presented Alam and Naqaarah.⁴

1 Ain I, Bloch, p.52.

2 Mirat-ul-Istilah, p.16a.

3 Massir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I. p.775. (CHARQAB was a robe of honour)

4 Ibid., p. 783.

The right to play the naubat or the conferment of the Naqqarah (kettledrum) was considered to be a great honour and was granted to a noble as a special favour or honour. But the recipient had to be a mansabdar of the rank of 2000 or above.¹ In the 36th R.Y. when the mansab of Zain Khan Kokah was raised to 4000, he was given the privilege of beating the drums (right to drums).² In the 5th R.Y. Pirmohammad Sherwani received the title of Khan, a standard and a drum.³ In the 19th R.Y. Rajah Todar Mal was presented a standard and a drum and sent for the conquest of Bengal with the army.⁴ In the 39th R.Y. Mirza Rustam was given a flag and a drum.⁵ In the 48th R.Y. Rajah Suraj Singh was distinguished among his equals with the grant of a kettledrum because he had distinguished himself in the Deccan.⁶ The procedure for the conferment of Naqaarah or Alam was identical- the alam or naqqarah was placed on the shoulder of the recipient and he had to perform the kornish or kneeling salutation.

1 Mirat-al-Istilah, f. 16a; This is corroborated by Chandra Bhal Brahman's Guldasta, f 6b.

2 A.N. III(Tr.)p.889.

3 A.N.II (Tr.)p.156;

4 A.N.III(Tr.) pp.144-45.

5 A.N.III,Tr.p.999.

6 Ibid., Tr. p. 1229; Maasir-i-Rahimi, II,p.864.

The appointment to the post of ataliq (guardianship) of a prince was considered to be a great honour. Only great nobles were appointed to this post. When Qutbuddin Khan was appointed ataliq to Prince Sultan Salim, the emperor Akbar placed the Shahjadah on Qutbuddin's shoulders which was also considered to be a great honour.¹ (25th R.Y.) In the 25th R.Y. (July, 1580 A.D.) Sharif Khan, brother of Shamsuddin Mohammad Atgah Khan was made ataliq of Prince Murad.² In the 38th R.Y. (1593 A.D.) Sadiq Khan was appointed ataliq to Prince Sultan Murad and sent to him. As Ismail Quli Khan had not done well in this appointment, he was replaced by Sadiq Khan to this office and sent off. He skillfully managed the things.³ In the 42nd R.Y. Qulij Khan was raised to the mansab of 4500 and appointed ataliq of Prince Sultan Daniyal,⁴ and sent with him to Allahabad. In the 35th R.Y. Zain Khan Kokah was made the ataliq of Prince Parwiz. He was then the mansabdar of 2500.⁵ In the 22nd R.Y. said (Syed Khan) Khan Chaghtai was appointed ataliq of Prince Daniyal.⁶ In the 14th R.Y.

1 A.N.III, (Tr.)p.401.

2 Ain I, Bloch, p.416; A.N. III pp. 458-59.

3 A.N.III, (Tr.)p.985.

4 Ibid., pp. 1076-77.

5 Ibid., p.875.

6 Ain I, Bloch, p.351.

Shaikh Muhammad Bokhari was made the ataliq of Shahjahan Salim.¹ In the 8th R.Y. Munim Khan was appointed ataliq of Mirza Mohammad Hakim, younger brother of Akbar.² Bairam Khan was appointed ataliq of Prince Akbar by Emperor Humayun and he was confirmed by Akbar at his accession.³ In the 27th R.Y. Mirza Khan was appointed ataliq of Prince Salim. Though Qutbuddin Khan had been promoted to the office of ataliq, yet as at that time he had a charge of a distant country (Gujarat), Mirza Khan, son of Bairam Khan was exalted to this post.⁴ In the 42nd R.Y. Mirza Yusuf Khan was appointed ataliq of Prince Murad. He had been given a jagir in Gujarat in the previous year and had been sent there. But in this year when Sadiq Khan died, he was raised to this high office and was asked to join the prince quickly.⁵ In the 39th R.Y. Rajah Mansingh was made ataliq of Prince Sultan Khusrau and his maintenance jagir was given in Bengal and that country was given to his charge.⁶ Again in 50th R.Y. Rajah Man Singh was made ataliq of Prince Khusrau.⁷

1 Iqbal II, p.238.

2 A.N. II, (Tr.), p.284.

3 A.N. II, (Tr.) pp. 9, 26

4 A.N. III, (Tr.) p.583.

5 Ibid., p.1081.

6 Ibid., p. 999.

7 Ibid., p. 1257.

The emperor presented a variety of gifts to his nobles as a mark of favour or distinction. He tendered gifts such as- jewelled ornaments, daggers and swords with jewelled hilts, horses and elephants with gold and silver trappings, waist-belts etc. to them. In the 20th R.Y. (1575-76) Husain Quli Khan was presented a belt (kamār) and sword ornamented with gold and jewels and a horse with a golden saddle.¹ In 992 A.H. Mirza Khan (Abdurrahim) was given a horse, a robe of honour, jewelled girdle and dagger, and a tumantoq (a standard of the highest degree) and the rank of 5000 which was the highest dignity of the amirs.² In the 18th R.Y. Rajah Todar Mal was given Shamshir-i-khas when he departed for Bengal, when the emperor Akbar was encamped at Ajmer.³ In the 25th R.Y. when Itimad Khan of Gujarat was given Sarkar of Pattan in jagir. He was given 30 elephants and 100 horses.⁴

In the 1st R.Y. of Jahangir (1605-6 A.D.) Rajah Man Singh who had reached the mansab of 7000 under Akbar, was given Charqab (vest with sleeves) as a robe of honour, a jewelled sword and a horse from the imperial stable and sent to the province of Bengal which was a place of

1 T.A.II, B.De., p.480.

2 T.A. II, B. De., P.578.

3 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.II, p.806.

4 A.N. III(Tr.) pp. 464-65.

50,000 horse.¹

In the 20th R.Y. Abdur Rahim, Khan-i-Khanan showed much hospitality to Daud Afghan in Bengal and reported the same to Akbar. Akbar was very much pleased and he sent for the Khan-i-Khanan a precious khilat, Kamar, Shamshir-i-Murasa, a horse ~~h~~ with gold trappings.²

Sometimes cash reward was also given to the nobles as marks of honour. Shaikh Abul Fazl was presented 50,000 Rupees in the 47th R.Y.³ Mirza Rustam Safawi, son of Sultan Husain Mirza was given a reward (inam) of 1 krór tankah and a mansab of 5000 and Multan in jagir when he came to court of Akbar with his family in the 38th R.Y.⁴ When Tardi Khan, son of Qiya Khan Gang was promoted to the mansab of 2,500, he also received a present of 5 lacs of Rupees in the 49th R.Y. of Akbar.⁵

Keeping of the royal seal was considered to be a great honour and it was conferred on nobles of high rank alone. It was conferred upon Rajah Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khan.⁶ In the 40th R.Y. this honour was conferred upon

1 Tuzuk I, p.16.

2 Maasir-i-Rahimi II, pp. 832-33.

3 A.N.III. Tr. p. 1211.

4 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.II, p.930.

5 Ain I, Bloch, p.367.

6 Har-Sch-Daftar-i-Abul Fazl (Luck. 1299), p. 129.

Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam.¹

The nobles also offered their daughters, sisters or niece in marriage to the emperor or any prince and the acceptance of the proposal was considered to be a great honour.

There were other ways in which the emperor could honour his nobles. The visit of the emperor to the house of a particular noble was considered to be a great honour. If a particular noble desired that the emperor should visit his house, he had to make a petition to this effect and his desire was conveyed to the emperor. Generally, the petition was accepted and the desire of the noble was fulfilled. But sometimes compelled by the circumstances, the emperor postponed his visit to a later date whenever he felt convenient. Once the petition of such a great noble as Rajah Bhagwan Das was rejected because Akbar was in great hurry and the fulfillment of his desire was postponed to a later date.

The nobles who were related to the imperial family or belonged to the royal families of other countries or were the emperor's kokah (faster-brother), the emperor showed exceptional favour to such nobles and thereby enhanced their prestige.

1 A.N. III(Tr.)p.1033.

In the 18th R.Y. the prestige of Mirza Aziz Kokah who was the emperor's kokah, was raised to great heights when Akbar embraced him in the manner "affectionate Father's embrace their loving sons".¹ In the same year when Mirza Aziz Kokah came to do homage from Gujarat, when Akbar was coming to Ajmer, the emperor exalted his honour by going a few steps to welcome him.² In 1567 A.D. when the emperor went against the Uzbegs in the east, he rode on an elephant (Balsunder) and he asked Mirza Aziz Kokah to ride with him in the canopy on the same elephant and thereby his position "transcended the skies".³ It was considered to be a great honour and was conferred upon the Mirza because he was the emperor's foster-brother. The emperor placed prince Salim on the shoulders of Qutbuddin Khan when the ~~later~~ was appointed the ^aatliq of the prince.⁴ As Qutbuddin Khan (Atgah) was related to Akbar, this great honour was conferred upon him.

When Mirza Sulaiman, the ruler of Badakhshan, who belonged to the Timurid(ruling) dynasty, was coming to the court of Akbar, the emperor summoned Mirza Aziz Kokah from Gujarat to be present at the entertainments to be given in honour of Mirza Sulaiman.⁵ When the Mirza reached Punjab,

1 A.N.III(Tr.),p.87.

2 Ibid., p. 110.

3 A.N.II(Tr.)p.430; T.A.II. Be De, p.333.

4 A.N.III,Tr. p.401.

5 A.N. III, Tr. pp. 208-9.

the Punjab officers welcomed him with all respect according to orders. Khwajah Aga Jan was sent from court with the rarities of India to bring him. When he arrived near the capital, the high nobles and great officers went forward in a procession and brought him with great ceremony. When the procession was within three Kos(6 miles) from the capital, the emperor himself went on a horse to receive him. Seeing the emperor, the Mirza dismounted and came forward. Akbar too dismounted from / his horse and performed the kornish. The Mirza performed the prostration (Sijda). They returned to the palace. The common places enroute and city streets were adorned and there was a great banquet¹ (Mirza Sulaiman was given a mansab of 5000 by Akbar and enrolled among the great nobles).

The author of Zakhirat has given a vivid description of the welcome extended to Mirza Sulaiman. He says that Akbar sent fifty thousand rupees, numerous horses and other requirements to the Mirza. Agha Khan was appointed Khazanchi and sent there. The imperial officers were ordered to welcome him and show hospitality on every stage. When the Mirza arrived near Fatehpur Sikri, all the Umarah and imperial officers went to welcome him. About 5000 elephants decorated with Farhangi Makhmal and Rumi Jarva-khat(costly clothes) and golden and silver chains stood in a

1 A.N. III, Tr. pp. 220-222.

procession from the gate of Fathpur to the ^yg_hound of Fathpur. The ground of Fathpur began to shine with these decorations. In such a display of glory, the emperor went from his palace to receive the Mirza when he reached near him, the Mirza dismounted and ran breathlessly towards the emperor. Akbar-too dismounted and embraced the Mirza both of them then proceeded towards the fort on the same horse, conversing with each other. When they reached the palace the Mirza was given a place on the throne by the side of the emperor. Prince Salim was summoned and introduced to the Mirza and afterwards Prince Salim was given a seat at a long distance from the Mirza. Prince Muṣṭafā and Prince Daniyal were asked to stand. The emperor had arranged for the Mirza a room for rest near his own private room.¹

The author of the Tabaqat also says that the emperor in his great generosity sent to the Mirza fifty thousand rupees and other royal furnishings and some Iraqi and readster horses with Khwajah Aqa Khan Khazanchi. An order was given to Rajah Bhagavan Das, the governor of Lahore to go as far as Nilab river to welcome the Mirza and should arrange everyday for his entertainments. An order was issued to the governors and administrators of every town and city

1 Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I. pp. 21-22.

wherever the Mirza might halt, to attend to him and treat him as a guest.¹ When Mirza Sulaiman arrived at the town of Mathura (20 Karohs) from Fathpur, Tarsun Mohammad Khan, Qazi Nizam Badakhshi (Ghazi Khan) were sent to welcome him.² Akbar himself mounted to receive him. On that day an order was issued that five thousand elephants of mountain like size and of cloud like appearance, with jhuls (housings) of velvet of European manufacture (makhmal Firangi) and gold embriodered fabric of constantinople (Zarbaft Rumi) and adorned with chains of gold and silver and having black and white fringes suspended from their heads and necks and trunks, should be placed on either side of the road from the gate of Fathpur to a distance of five Karohs. Between every pair of elephants, there was a cart containing a Chita (leopard), which had collars of gold studded with gems and coverings of fine cloth and carts with pairs of bullocks, with headstalls of gold embroidered cloth.³ When the plain was adorned in this way Akbar mounted his horse and went to welcome. He did not allow the Mirza should adhere to the custom of Salutation (taslim) and other formal acts of politeness and customary humiliations.⁴ At this time says

1 T.A.II, B.De, p.475.

2 Ibid., p. 476.

3 Ibid., p. 477.

4 Ibid., pp. 477-78.

Badaoni, the emperor revived an old Chaghtai custom. For some days in order to exhibit it to Mirza Sulaiman, they spread royal tables in the audience hall and the officers of high grade gathered the soldiers together and took to themselves the trouble of arranging the customary food. But when the Mirza departed all then revived customs departed.¹

✓
In the 30th R.Y. (1584-85 A.D.) when Mirza Shahrukh, grandson of Mirza Sulaiman was coming to Akbar's court, an imperial order was issued that he should be escorted in a suitable manner. Kunwar Man Singh regarded his coming as a great honour and showed him full hospitality. Then he crossed the Indus and the jagirdars everywhere welcomed him. When he came to Lahore, Rajah Bhagwan Das held a great feast and accompanied him on his journey to court. When he was one stage away from Fathpur, Prince Daniyal, accompanied by many grandees came to receive him.² Nizamuddin says that Kunwar Man Singh offered Rupees five thousand and five hundred in cash and much cloth and eight horses and five elephants. Valuable robes were sent in charge of Qazi Ali Bakshi. A sum of one lac of Rupees and furnishings for his pavilion and nine or three Iraqi horses

1 M.T.II, Lowe, pp. 217-220. ✓

2 A.N.III, Tr., pp. 670-671; T.A.II, B.De, pp. 597-98; M.T. II, Lowe, p. 352.

and five elephants and some camels and servants were bestowed on the Mirza Shahrukh.¹ (Mirza Shahrukh is enrolled among the mansabdars of 5000 under Akbar in the list of the Ain.)

When in the 38th R.Y. (1593-94 A.D.) Mirza Rustam Safawi, who belonged to the ruling Safawi dynasty of Persia (Iran) came to Akbar's court, he was given a cordial welcome. An order was issued to the jagirdars on the route to regard the coming of the Mirza and honour and should show him proper respect. When he came within the empire Qara Beg, Makim Ain-ul-mulk and Bakhtiyar Beg were sent one after the other to receive him. When he had nearly approached, Sharifkhan Atgah, Shah Beg, Asaf Khan and other officers were sent off to welcome him. On the day of Dashera, the Khan-i-Khanan, Zain Khan Kokah and others received him and brought him before Akbar. He was given a mansab of 5000 and Multan and many paraganas, and Biluchistan which is larger than Qandahar were given to him in jagir. The author of Zakhirat adds a present of one kror of tankah which was given to Mirza Rustam.² The author of the Tabaqat says that a pavillion, an audience tent and qanaths (screens for tents) and other furniture from

1 * T.A.II, B.De., pp. 597-98.

2 A.N.III. Tr. pp. 993-94; T.A.II, B.De. p. 650; Z.K. vol.I, p.99.

the farashkhana (Store-house for tents etc.) was sent by the hand of Qara Beg to Mirza Rustam and then a jewelled belt and a dagger were sent by the hand of Hakim Ain-ul Mulk. Then Khan-i-Khanan and Zain Khan Kokat and other great amirs were sent to receive him. The Emperor bestowed on him. one krór Muradí tankah.¹

Another way of honouring a noble was to affectionately call him his father, brother or son. Akbar used to call Bairam Khan affectionately as Khan Baba (father) which was a great honour. Rajah Man Singh had lofty title of Farzand (affectionate son) and he was also known as Mirza Rajah.²

No doubt the titles and honours increased the prestige of the nobles but it gave them no monetary gain. At least in one case we find a noble agitated on the conferment of honours because these gave him no financial help. Shah Beg Khan Arghun was a frank Turk noble of Akbar's reign. When Akbar appointed him governor of Qandahar, he conferred upon him an alam (standard) and a naqqara (kettle drum); but on receiving the insignia he said to Farid, "what is all this trash for, Would that His Majesty gave me an order regarding my mansab and a jagir, to enable

1 T.A.II, B.E. p.650.

2 A.N.III, Tr. pp. 236-37; Ain I, Bloch, p.361.

me to get better troopers for his service."¹

Maulana Nuruddin Mohammad Tarkhan claimed to be a Tarkhan by hereditary right, whereas Akbar bestowed on him first the title of Khan and then that of Tarkhan, the latter however merely an honorary (empty) title, without any of the substantial privileges formerly attached to it. The same was the case with his earlier title of Khan.² Nuruddin was not happy with his titles because it were empty honours and gave him no monetary gain. He endured many hardships and the cruel fate brought utter ruin upon him. When Akbar departed for Atak (1586 A.D.) he appointed Mulla Nuruddin to trusteeship of the tomb of the late emperor Humayun in Delhi and there he died.³

The poet says that he had nothing but waste lands with his title of Khan, but that when he was made Tarkhan what little moisture there was in these lands seemed to evaporate. ✓

When a person was found guilty even his title was taken back. Nuruddin Mohammad was with the emperor when Akbar was marching against Mirza Hakim in 1581 A.D. Nuruddin Muhammad remained behind and returned from the Punjab

1 Ain I, Bloch, p.410. ✓

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p.275.n.1 and pp. 218-19, note 5.

3 M.T.III, Haig, pp. 274-75 (Pr.Text pp. 198-99).

to his own jagir, a line of conduct which excited suspicion against him so that after the emperor's return from this expedition, he was summoned to Fathpur, there to be called to account for his monetary transactions and his writings, to be reprimanded and deprived of his title. In this manner he was persecuted for some years. His ruin is said to be due to the impropriety of which he was guilty in lampooning the officials in the imperial city of Delhi wherein he was actuated solely by the enmity which he bore to Tatar Khan, governor of Delhi (in 1563-64 A.D. Tatar Khan was a Khurasani and governed Delhi till his death in 1578 A.D.). The satire which he wrote he chose to attribute to Qasim-i-Kahi, publishing it as the work of that poet.¹

The System of Presents

The system of offering presents to the emperor was a part of the court-etiquette. In fact, it was a general custom all over Asia that "the great are never approached ~~with~~ empty handed."² Gifts of substance presented by officers was termed as 'Peshkash'. There were certain important occasions when the nobles were expected to offer peshkash to the emperor- such as the anniversaries of the Emperor's accession, the birth anniversary of the emperor,

1 M.T.III, Haig, pp. 275-76. ✓

2 Bernier, p. 200.

the birth of a prince or princess, Nauroz (the New Year Day), the celebration of a victory and the emperor's recovery from an illness.

From the 27th R.Y. the emperor Akbar began to celebrate the Persian New Year's Day (Nauroz) every year. On this day the great Daulat Khana (Diwan-i-am) was decorated. This festival used to be celebrated for 17 days.¹ Everyday one of the great officers had charge of the assembly and the banquet or celebrations.² The nobles used to come from far off provinces to participate in the New Year Festivities and considered it an occasion to express loyalty by doing homage at the court and offering presents. When the time of the culmination (of the Sun) drew near, the special hall (diwan-i-khas) was also decorated.³

Abul Fazl says "Prayers to God were arranged according to excellent rules and everyone of the fortunate servants gave a little out of much as peshkash and heaped up eternal bliss. The delicate minded Shahinshah received a small thing and made it the material of (conferring) great rank."⁴

1 A.N.III, Tr. pp. 557-58.

2 Ibid., pp. 558, 560.

3 Ibid., p. 560.

4 Ibid.

The imperial officers and servants were expected to offer peshkash according to their status. Peshkash was usually made in jewels and precious articles and not in cash. Appointments and promotions were made on such occasions and the nobles offered presents as 'nazr' in thanks giving. The 'nazr' was different from 'Peshkash' only in the sense that it was less substantial and was offered in thanks giving on falicitious occasions. Therefore, the nobles offered presents (nazr) to the emperor on occasions of felicity in their families such as birth of a son, recovery from an illness, marriage in the family, construction of a house etc. It could also be offered when a noble came to the court from his post or jagir. The amounts offered in nazr were usually small, amounting to a few muhrs (minimum one muhr) and some ~~x~~ rupees even when offered by the great amirs.

In the first R.Y. when Bairam Khan received the news of the birth of a son (Abdurrahim) at Lahore where he had left his household, he organised a grand feast. Astronomers declared that he would arrive at high dignities and perform noble services.¹ ✓

On 31st December, 1560 A.D. Akbar reached Agra and

1 A.N.Vol. II, Eng. Tr. p.76.

he gave the house of Bairam Khan (who had been sent off to Mekkah) to Munim Khan, the Khan-i-Khanan. Munim Khan gave a royal feast in thanks-giving and begged that His Majesty would honour him by his presence. His prayer was granted and his mansion received celestial glory by the radiance of His Majesty, the Shahinshah's advent. Munim Khan tendered rare exquisite presents and stood ready to sacrifice his life for the emperor.¹ ✓

When the emperor passed through the jagir of high nobles, it was a custom to come before the emperor to do homage and offer presents to him. The opportunity thus provided by was utilised by them to express loyalty. Even when the high nobles were themselves in the royal retinue, when the emperor passed through the jagir of anyone of them, they arranged a feast to celebrate the occasion and invited the emperor to be present in the celebrations and offered presents to him. Sometimes the peshkash offered was accepted as a whole. But very often a part of the peshkash was accepted and the rest was returned to the noble. ✓

When Akbar visited the house of Zain Khan Kokah (1595 A.D.) on his own request, the latter tendered 170 elephants as a present but only some were accepted.² ✓

1 A.N. Vol.II. Tr. pp. 187-188.

2 Ibid., III, Tr. p. 1044.

Muhammad Khan of Nishapur to whom the government of Saran^apur had been entrusted came to do homage to Akbar when the latter went to Malwa. His Majesty visited his house, he presented nearly 700 ho^rses and mules. They were distributed to the officers and servants (9th R.Y.).¹ In the 22nd R.Y. when Akbar came to Delhi, he visited the quarters of Shaikh Farid Bakshi Begi who had many seats in that delightful neighbourhood on the banks of Jamuna and had places of worship at the latter's request. (A.N.III.Tr. p.322) In the 30th R.Y. again Akbar visited his house at Delhi. (A.N.III,Tr. p. 705)

When Akbar reached Delhi, he visited the house of Shaikh Farid Bokhari, Bakshi. There was an offering of peshkash and scattering of money. Some of them were accepted by His Majesty, the emperor Akbar.² (43rd R.Y.)

When in the 5th R.Y. Mir Jamaluddin Husain Anju after his arrival at court from the Deccan presented some jewels and other things from the Deccan, they were all accepted.³

When Akbar was proceeding to Punjab, in the neighbourhood of Hisar, Mihr Ali Sildoz's house was visited

1 A.N. III, Tr. p. 345.

2 Ibid., Tr. p. 1118.

3 Ibid., Tr. p. 1253.

by the emperor. A portion of the presents was accepted.¹
(22nd R.Y.) ✓

In the 47th R.Y. Khurram, son of Khan-i-Aazm sent twenty Kutehi horses (from Kutch) from Junagarh to court as peshkash.² ✓

In the 22nd R.Y. Muzaffar Khan came to the emperor at Ajmer from Bengal and Bihar and presented Rupees 4 lacs in cash (naqadi) as peshkash. The money was deposited in the royal treasury (Khazana). The emperor also gave him inam or reward.³ ✓

When the emperor reached Lahore in the 16th R.Y., Husain Quli Khan, who was the governor (Hakim) of that place, came to welcome the emperor and did prostration. The emperor stayed in his house for some days and became his guest and he offered peshkash.⁴

In the 49th R.Y. when Rai Rayan was given the title of Bikramajit, he in gratitude for this favour presented two elephants and some other things. The author of Iqbalnamah says that he presented ten elephants.⁵

1 A.N. III, Tr. p. 328.

2 Ibid., Tr. p. 1224.

3 Iqbal II, p. 317.

4 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I, p. 722.

5 A.N.III, Tr. p. 1249; Iqbal II, p.505.

In the 29th R.Y. Rajah Todar Mal's house was visited by Akbar. The Rajah had for a long time cherished this desire and he preferred his request in an excellent manner. It was accepted and in thanks giving he had a great feast.¹

When after the suppression of the rebellions of Ali Quli Khan and Bahadur Khan Uzbek, Akbar proceeded towards the capital, the jagirdars at various places gave feasts to the emperor. When Akbar reached the town of Karra which was in the jagir of Farhat Khan (a noble) the latter made a petition to the emperor for a visit and his request was granted. He gave a great feast. Similarly, Shujaat Khan, another noble offered a great feast at Etawah. (1567 A.D.)²

In the 49th R.Y. when Shaikh Farid Bakshri was given the mansab of 4000 ~~Lat~~/2000 Suwar, a flag and a drum, he presented 5 valuable pearls, 4 rubis and an elephant in thanks giving.³ The author of Iqbalnamah says he gave 1000 muhrs, 5 pearls, 4 lal (precious stones) and an elephant to Akbar.⁴

In the 27th R.Y. Akbar visited the house of Rajah

1 A.N.III, Tr. p.661.

2 Ibid.II,Tr. p. 497.

3 Ibid.,III, Tr. 1249.

4 Iqbal, II, p. 505.

Birbal. Akbar had ordered the erection of stone palaces for Rajah Birbal. When they were finished, Birbal petitioned Akbar to visit his house. It was granted and in Jan. 1583, there was a splendid feast in his house in the emperor's honour.¹ In the 28th R.Y. Rajah Birbal was again honoured by Akbar's presence.² In the 26th R.Y. Rajah Birbal offered presents when His Majesty came to Desuha (in Jammu) of which he was the jagirdar.³ In the 29th R.Y. Rajah Birbal's house was visited by Akbar.⁴

The nobles and princes used to offer presents according to their ranks and Status. The princes used to offer rich presents because they enjoyed such high mansabs to which even the great nobles could not reach, such mansabs being reserved for the princes alone.

In the 48th R.Y. when Prince Salim came to court, he presented 12,000 muhurs and 977 elephants, out of the latter 350 were accepted. Akbar took off his turban from his head and placed it on the prince's head.⁵

1 A.N. III, Tr. p.587.

2 Ibid., Tr. p.517.

3 Ibid., Tr. p.511.

4 Ibid., Tr. p.657.

5 Ibid., Tr. p. 1230; Iqbal II, p.493. He says that 354 elephants were ~~x~~ returned.

In the 46th R.Y. Prince Sultan Daniyal came to court at the festival of culmination (Nauroz) and gave a feast and presented valuable jewels which had been taken at Ahmad Nagar.¹

In the 47th R.Y. Prince Daniyal sent as peshkash a diamond weighing 27 surkhs and a ruby weighing 4 misqads.²

When Mirza Husain Safawi, who belonged to the royal family of Iran came to Akbar's court in the 40th R.Y. (1595 A.D.), he did homage at the court and presented the emperor Akbar one hundred Iraqi horses and other things. Among them was a wonderful shell which when rubbed on a snake-bite sucked out the poison and caused recovery. He was given a mansab of 5000 and Sarkar Sambhal in jagir.³

In the 35th R.Y. Rajah Mansingh's peshkash (presents) arrived at court from Bihar. He sent valuable part of the plunder and elephants to court. They were produced before His Majesty.⁴ In the 44th R.Y. Rajah Mansingh offered a choice set of presents. Among them was 50 valuable diamonds.^{4a}

1. A.N.III, Tr. p. 1178.

2. Ibid., Tr. p. 1224.

3 Ibid., Tr. pp. 1030-31.

4 Ibid., Tr. pp. 872-73.

4a Ibid., Tr. p. 1133.

The author of the Iqbalnamah says that Rajah Man Singh presented as peshkash 200 elephants, 50 precious jewels and other things. He gave gifts to the servants of the court separately.¹ In the 50th R.Y. Rajah Man Singh came from Bengal and did homage, he tendered 1000 muhrs and Rs. 12,000 as present. He brought numerous elephants from Bengal.² The author of Iqbalnamah says that he presented 1000 muhrs and 2000 Rs.³

In the 20th R.Y. Rajah Todar Mal came to court and brought 54 noted elephants and rarities of Bengal.⁴ In the 21st R.Y. Rajah Todar Mal came from Bengal in Banswara and did homage to Akbar. Among the spoils he presented were noted elephants.⁵

In the 15th R.Y. Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam who was going with the emperor, requested the emperor to visit his house when they reached in his jagir. His request was granted and Akbar stayed at his residence in Dipalpur (Dibalpur). For some days he remained his guest. Mirza Aziz

1 Iqbal, II. p. 462.

2 A.N. III. Tr. p. 1256.

3 Iqbal, II, p. 509. ✓

4 A.N. III, Tr. p. 223.

5 A.N. III, Tr. p. 277.

showed much hospitality. The author of the Maasir-i-Rahimi says that such hospitality was shown very rare. On the last day he gave peshkash to the emperor. The peshkash included Arabi and Iraqi horses with gold and silver saddlings, huge elephants with chains of gold and silver, Jhul of the horses embroidered with gold and makhmal, Anykush (to beat the elephants) of gold and silver, pearls, jawahar, Yaqut, Palang (bed), Chaukies of gold, utensils of gold and silver and many rarities and precious things from Rum, Farang, Yezd etc. In the same manner he gave precious gifts to the princes and the ladies of the harem. Each of the servant of the emperor got a gift according to his post.¹

Sometimes the foreign rulers also sent presents for the great nobles through their ambassadors. In the 17th R.Y. the ambassador of Turan came to Akbar's court and brought for him the rarities of his country. He also brought gifts for Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan and Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam.²

The nobles who were Zamindars also, offered peshkash at the time of their accession to their gaddi

1 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I, pp. 771.72.

2 Iqbal, II, pp. 244-45.

(hereditary throne). The tributary chiefs or the Rajahs who accepted the suzerainty of Akbar and offered their allegiance to him, used to send an annual peshkash (tribute) to him. So long they offered tribute annually, they were considered to be obedient to the throne but when they withheld it for a long time, they were liable to be punished. The peshkash offered by the tributary chiefs was different in nature from the peshkash of the nobles, the former being a token of the recognition of the emperor's supremacy. ✓

It is said that peshkash was in a way veiled form of bribe offered to the Emperor in hope of certain favours. From the ethical point of view the system of offering presents was against the dictates of the religion. It was a financial burden too upon the nobles. Bernier holds the view that the nobles were ruined partly because of the presents they had to offer to the emperor. The statement seems to be an exggeration of the facts considering in view two important aspects of the system of presents. Firstly, the nobles were to offer peshkash according to their status and position. Secondly, sometimes, a part of the peshkash was ~~sometimes~~ accepted and the rest was returned to the offerer. Then the emperor also gave the nobles gifts and presents and rewards. Further the nobles wanted to maintain

their glory and offered rich presents to make a show of their power and splendour. Therefore the system was not a burden, at least upon the nobles in the reign of Akbar when they were highly paid. In fact the system was beneficial both to the emperor and the nobles. The nobles gained their desires and the emperor tested their loyalty and regard to the throne and the glitter of the presents enhanced the splendour of the imperial court. In a way it was a competition in which the nobles always sought to offer rich presents to get a particular favour or to seek promotion. It also offered them an opportunity to maintain their pomp and show outward glory.

Mansabdars And The Public Service

In the Mughal period it is correct to speak of a service\$ and not of services, because there was practically no difference in regard to functions.¹ Once appointed, the officer's time was entirely at the Emperor's disposal, and his duties by no means ended after he had supplied the contingent or fulfilled other obligations. He could be employed either on military duties or in civil administrations. Even if, ^{he} had no specific employment, he was required to be present at court, in attendance and wait upon the Emperor

1 The Agrarian System of Moslem India by Moreland, p.93. ✓

and perform the work which he might be called upon to do from time to time, unless he was sent elsewhere. When a person was assigned any work in a particular department, he was not given any extra salary for the office. His Zat pay included everything. Therefore⁴ he failed to perform his duty to the Emperor's satisfaction, he was punished not by the cancellation of any allowance but a reduction in his mansab.

The mansabdari system included all government services, without any official subdivisions into military, administrative, revenue or judicial branches. Any officer was at any time liable to be transferred to any branch of service. For example, Rajah Todar Mal, who was essentially a financier was transferred more than once as a governor and even as a military commander. Abul Fazl, the eminent scholar and historian was sent on a diplomatic mission and^{to} conduct a military expedition in the Deccan. Rajah Birbar who was no more^{than} a court wit was asked to lead an expedition against the tribal Afghans. There was no separate educational or medical service. The teachers, scholars and physicians were employed in the imperial service and were given mansabs. The judiciary was a separate institution in itself as it required a specialised academic training and the good knowledge of the Sharia'at. Before the time of Akbar, the Qazis and Sadrs could not be called the imperial servants.

But ~~Has~~ Akbar conferred mansabs upon some Qazis and Sadrs, they were regarded as imperial servants and called mansabdars. Though mansabs were conferred upon the qazis and sadrs they could expect careers in one branch only. Sultan Khwajah Naqshbandi (No. 108 of the Ain) though neither learned in the sciences nor in tasawwuf (mysticism) had yet much of the saintly philosopher in him. He possessed in a high degree the confidence and the friendship of the Emperor. In ⁹⁸⁴~~894~~ A.H. he was made Mir Hajj and as such commanded a large party of courtiers during the pilgrimage to Makkah. On his return in 986 A.H. (23rd regnal year) he was given a mansab of one thousand and appointed Sadr of the realm. He held that office till his death in 992 A.H. (29th regnal year.).¹ Mir Sadr-i-Jahan Mufti (Ain No. 194) was sent as an ambassador to Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the ruler of Turan with Hakim (No. 205). Sadr-i-Jahan returned in the 34th year and was made Sadr upto the 40th year he had risen to the dignity of a mansabdar of 700, but later he was made an amir and got a mansab of 2000.² Mir Abdul hay, Mir Adl (Ain No. 230) was also a mansabdar.³ We find that these officers made their career in the judiciary only and no other duties were

1 Ain I, (Tr.) pp. 466-67. According to Badaoni and Abul Fazl he belonged to the Elect of Divine Faith.

2 Ibid., p. 522. In the reign of Jahangir he was promoted to the rank of 4000.

3 Ibid., p. 536. The Tabaqat calls him Khwajah Abdul hay and says that he was an amir. Abul Fazl also mentions him as a mansabdar of 500. He was the Chief Justice of the Empire. See, p. 522.

usually assigned to them. The officers of the judiciary were never assigned any executive or financial work probably in order to avoid the possibility of their having developing interests in administration and consequent intervention in administration and politics. But still the judiciary was in no way an independent institution and the members of the judicial branch could not keep them self aloof from the other branches of administration. They took interest in administration and politics and played an important part in the execution of state policies. The nobles, however, considered the judiciary an entirely separate institution and resented their interference in the administration. Akbar too, could not tolerate the overwhelming influence of the judiciary and he curtailed the powers of the officers of the judiciary, as shall be described in the subsequent section.

Like the members of the judiciary, the physicans too were employed in the imperial service to look after the health of the Emperor, the princes, the nobles ^{of the} etc. They were given mansabs and rose to the ranks of nobility but their services were generally utilised in the medical sphere. When Akbar learnt of Prince Murad's illness, he sent Hakim Misri (physi^{ci}an) to the Deccan for treatment. Similarly when Prince Daniyal became very weak due to drinking, Akbar sent Hakim Abul Fath to the Deccan. When the Emperor himself fell ill in September, 1605 Hakim Ali treated him. But exceptions

were there. Hakim Abul Fath was once sent in a military expedition against the tribal Afghan, On the north-west frontier. Similarly, scholars, men of letters and poets ^{and men,} etc. were given mansabs and they rose high in the imperial service. But their services were utilised mainly in educational field. They composed poems, made translations, and worked as advisers to the Emperor. Some of them were masters of both pen and sword. Here again they were occasionally asked to perform military duties.¹ Therefore, we see that the imperial service was organised on bureaucratic principles and was essentially military in organisation and outlook. The members of the service were called mansabdars and every official was a holder of a mansab.² Thus the imperial service was organised on definite military ~~is~~ lines and its members were expected to perform military duties in addition to other duties- administrative, financial or judicial.

Military obligations were invariably imposed on all mansabdars but since separate departments had to be established

1 The physicians, scholars, qazis and sadrs etc. were sometimes sent on diplomatic missions. ✓

2 There were also the ahadis, the matchlockbearers (Bandugchis, the Darbans (Porters), the Shamsherbar (gladiators), the Pahlwans (wrestlers), who were in the imperial service but held no mansab. ✓

for administration of the country with posts such as Wakil (the Prime Minister), Wazir or Diwan (the Finance Minister), Mir Bakshi (War Minister), Sadr (the minister for ecclesiastical and judicial affairs), Kotwal (police), Faujdar (in-charge of Civil and Military affairs), etc., The post, held by the mansabdar imposed different types of duties upon them. In the central administration under Akbar in the beginning of the reign there were only two ministers - Wakil or Prime Minister who was in charge of the entire administration, civil and military and a Sadr (head of the ecclesiastical and judicial department. The Wakil was assisted by a deputy, called deputy to the prime minister (or diwan to the Wakil). Bairam Khan held the post of Wakil; Pir Mohammad Khan was his deputy; and Mir Fathullah was the Sadr. But Bairam Khan appointed Shaikh Gadai, a Shia, as the Sadr of the Empire. Later on he dismissed Pir Mohammad Khan from the post of deputy and appointed Haji Mohammad Khan Sistani in his stead. Gradually, when the central administration was well organised and evolved by Akbar, it consisted of four departments each presided over by a minister. The ministers were- (1) The Wakil (the Prime Minister); (2) Wazir or Diwan (the Finance minister); (3) Mir Bakshi (War Minister); (4) Sadr (head of the judicial and ecclesiastical department).

Wakil : His position was next to the Emperor. When the Emperor was a minor, Wakil Bairam Khan was all in all and had the power to appoint and dismiss other officers who were his subordinates. His authority can be judged from the fact that he appointed Shaikh Gadai, a Shia, to the office of Sadr at a court in which Sunnis were in majority and in preference to venerated Saiyyads. He inflicted capital punishment on Tardi Beg. He conferred ranks and jagirs and interfered in the private affairs of the Emperor. He was thus a prime minister with unlimited powers and might appropriately be called Grand Wazir or Wazir-i-tafuriz. But after the dismissal of Bairam Khan, Wakil was gradually deprived of these unlimited powers. The department of finance was taken away from him and a separate minister called Wazir was appointed to take charge of it. Thus another minister was raised to almost equal in status to that of Wakil. ✓ Afterwards Wakil ceased to have full control over other departments and the Wazir in course of time became so dominant as to eclipse the authority and prestige of the Wakil. ✓ For several years Akbar did not fill the post of Wakil and himself acted as his own prime minister. When the office was revived the Wakil was not entrusted with any portfolio. ✓ The post became ornamental and did not carry with it serious duties except, those of an advisor to the Emperor or of his vicegerent during his illness or absence ✓

from the capital.¹ After the dismissal of Bairam Khan, Maham Anga and Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan acted as defacto prime-ministers (about the end of March, 1560). It seems that the joint prime minister, exercised all the powers and duties of Bairam Khan, i.e. of a grand Wazir with ~~un~~ unlimited powers. As Maham Anga wanted to retain her supremacy and make Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Khwajah Jahan, another powerful leader, her tools, friction arose and Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan was dismissed. On Maham Anga's recommendation, Bahadur Khan Uzbek was appointed in his stead. Though he was the Prime Minister in name, the real power was in the hand of Maham Anga. But he too was removed from prime-ministership and was transferred to Etawah. Maham Anga thus recovered her ascendancy and continued to act as prime minister till September 10, 1560. When Munim Khan came from Kabul and was raised to that high office. However, after he had worked for a little over one year, his term of office came abruptly to an end. In November, 1561, Akbar's foster father Shamsuddin Mohammad Atgah Khan was raised to the post of Wakil.² He remained in this office

1 A.L. Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great', Vol. II, pp. 44-54 ✓

2 He had petitioned the Emperor that as he was given the insignia of the office of Bairam Khan, his office should also be given to him and it was difficult for Akbar to decline, especially when Munim Khan had attached himself to Maham Anga's party. In the account of 7th R.Y. the author of ^{1511 AD} *Shah name* says that Munim Khan too wanted to be wakil-us-sultani and Akbarhan aroused him and Shihab Khan instigated further the conspiracy. *JASAL II P. 178.*

till his murder in May, 1562.¹ After his death, the Emperor again appointed Munim Khan to the post of Wakil in June 1562 and he continued in office till 1567.

Shamsuddin Atgah Khan, like Munim Khan, enjoyed full powers of prime ministership and was entrusted with the management of affairs, political and financial,* and the disposal of matters relating to the army and to the civil population.² He was, after Bairam Khan's fall, the first Wakil who did not belong to Maham Angah's faction and was appointed without her influence. In fact he was opposed to her. Akbar was personally responsible for his appointment, though it was not done on his own initiative.

After the murder of Shamsuddin, Munim Khan and Qasim Khan who had hand in the affair, fled from the court out of fear. But they were arrested and brought back to court from their way to Kabul. Akbar handled the situation

1 The appointment of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan to the post of Wakil enraged Maham Angah "who regarded herself as the substantial prime minister" and Munim Khan "who was ostensible Wakil and sat on the masnad. They along with Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, Qasim Khan and Adham Khan formed a conspiracy against the new Wakil and had him murdered. Akbar took prompt steps against Maham Angah's faction and put Adham Khan to an instantaneous death. Maham Angah could not bear the shock of his son's death and died after 40 days. A.N. II, pp. 230-31, 269-75.

2 A.N. Vol. II (Tr.), p. 230.

with great tact and political foresight. He forgave the offenders and restored Munim Khan to his former title of Khani-Khanah¹ and reappointed him to the post of Wakil (June, 1562¹). Munim Khan continued in his office till June, 1567, when he was sent to take charge of Jaunpur as governor, which was apparently a degradation and he fell out of favour. During this term of office Munim Khan never wielded the authority which he had exercised during his first term of office. By then Akbar had realised that it was not safe to allow his Wakil, the highest offices of the Empire, to wield unlimited authority. Consequently, within three months of Munim Khan's reinstatement, he took steps to deprive him of unlimited authority. He created a new post, namely diwan of khalisa territory (crown land) ^{reserved} and appointed Itimad Khan, a competent financier, to take charge of it (September, 1562). Within a year he appointed a fullfledged revenue and finance minister and raised Muzaffar Khan to the post of Wazir or diwan. Thus finance was completely taken from the hands of the Wakil and an independent department (Diwan-i-Wazarat) was created. At about the same time Lashkar Khan was appointed mir bakshi and was given the charge of military department. The creation of two posts namely Wazir and Mir Bakshi, tremendously curtailed the powers of the Wakil. Unfortunately in May 1566 Munim Khan's prestige suffered greatly on account of his duplicity in the negotiations with the Uzbek rebels (Khan-i-Zaman, Ali Quli Shaibani or Uzbek and his brother

Bahadur Khan), and that of Muzaffar Khan, the Wazir who was responsible for bring^ging the fact to the notice of the Emperor, enhanced proportionately. Therefore, after the death of Khan-i-Zaman, Munim Khan, the Wakil (Prime minister) ~~was~~ was demoted and sent to Jaunpur to take charge of that province in June, 1567. Munim Khan's six year prime ministership (consisting of two terms, first of a little more than one year and the second of five years 1562-67) proved fatal for the empire and did^{not} bring any credit to him. During the first term of office, he displayed vacillation, played a second fiddle to Maham Angah who enjoyed the real power and did nothing to improve the administration. During the second term too he showed lack of initiative and enterprise and Akbar wisely deprived him of his control of finance and army by creating two new ministers, viz., the one in-charge of finance (Wazir) and the other in-charge of army (mir bakshni). Munim Khan's duplicity in May, 1566 undermined the prestige of his office as well as his personal reputation. By the time he was transferred to Jaunpur as governor, the prime minister's office had lost most of his office as well as his personal reputation. By the time he was transferred to Jaunpur as governor, the prime minister's office had lost most of its power and prestige. Hence forward its occupant enjoyed the nominal distinction of being the first minister of the Empire.¹

1 See Akbar the Great, Vol.II, A.L. Srivastava, pp. 44-54. ✓

After Munim Khan's transfer Akbar kept the post in abeyance and ~~there~~ was no prime minister for about six and a half year. This was probably due to two reasons. Munim Khan had not been formally dismissed from the prime minister's post and secondly no suitable man was ~~available~~ to fill the office. But the Empire had grown in size and the ^{work} of ^aministration had enormously increased. After the conquest and annexation of Gujarat, it became necessary to revive ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{glorious} ~~triumphant~~ return from Ahmedabad, Akbar issued orders summoning to court Muzaffar Khan.¹ Muzaffar Khan called on the Emperor at Fatehpur Sikri and was appointed Wakil on November 18, 1573. But his term of office as prime minister, though an outstanding success, proved to be of a very short duration, as he declined to implement Akbar's scheme of fixing grades of mansabdars, introducing the branding of their horses and of converting the assigned territories (jagir land) into the crown land (khalisa land). Consequently, he was removed from the office within a few months of his appointment. After a little over three ~~year's~~ gap during which there was no Wakil, Akbar again invited Muzaffar Khan to full the post of Wakil. Muzaffar Khan had in the intervening period rendered valuable military

1 It will be recalled that Muzaffar Khan had incurred the imperial displeasure and was dismissed from finance minister's post and exiled to Mecca in 1572. Akbar, however, changed his mind and recalled him from exile. ✓

service in Bihar and had repented for his rigid and uncompromising attitude towards some of the imperial policies. Therefore, he waited on Akbar at Hans Mahal on the latter's way to Ajmer, he was reappointed Wakil in October, 1577. ✓

The Emperor showed him great respect and while he himself and other members of his party got down from their horses and walked one mile to the Khwajah's Shrine, he permitted Muzaffar Khan to ride on a led (kotal) horse of the establishment, and honour never before shown to any prime minister. Nevertheless, Muzaffar Khan did not exercise full powers of the office and had only nominal control over the finance department, which remained in the powerful hands of Rajah Todar Mal (who had since 1575 held the office of Super finance minister or Ashraf-i-diwan) and of Khwajah Shah Mansur (who was Wazir or diwan or finance minister). They were required to perform their duties in consultation with Muzaffar Khan. It seems that again in the highest office of the empire either he failed to come upto the Emperor's expectations or he could not carry on work in collaboration with his colleagues because he was appointed governor of Bengal, On March 14, 1579 and sent there. Thus his second term of office proved to be a short duration of one and a half year. Muzaffar Khan took it to be his demotion and accepted the post with reluctance. He remained dissatisfied and "did not exert himself, to manage the country and the

army... and always had the forehead of his heart full of wrinkles." He failed to control the situation and was murdered by the rebels on April, 19, 1580. ✓

On Muzaffar Khan's transfer as governor of Bengal in March, 1579 Akbar did not appoint any Wakil for full two years. The vacancy was filled in March, 1582 by the promotion of Todar Mal (who since October, 1575 had held the office of Ashraf-i-diwan, a post higher than revenue or finance minister but lower than that of Prime minister or Wakil) who had distinguished himself as a soldier and general, a diplomat and above all, as a financier. No other high official, not even Muzaffar Khan, was equally at home in all branches of administration as Todar Mal was. For several years he had been Akbar's adviser in matters of general administration and his appointment was well deserved.¹ ✓

Perhaps the appointment was not made in formal manner, that is, by investing, the Rajah with the robe of the

1 As early as 1573, Todar Mal was consulted by Akbar on the matters of introducing the branding system, fixation of grades, and the conversion of Jagir land into khalisa land. "Rajah Todar Mal used to submit," says Abul Fazl, "that it was a good idea that had entered his mind, and it was ~~xxx good idea that had entered~~ owing to the general want of understanding among men that the thing had not occurred to them. Assuredly most of the soliders would be loyal, and their zeal would be increased by this decision. But it was most probable that Munim Khan and Muzaffar Khan would not approve of the plan." A.N.III, Thus it is clear that the Rajah appreciated the reforms of Akbar and the later events show that, his opinion about the two high officials was correct.

office and presenting to him the pen case meant for the *Wakil*, as was traditionally done on the occasion of the appointment of a new prime minister. But it is certain that *Rajah Todar Mal* worked as prime minister or *Wakil* from March, 1582 till his death on November 8, 1589. This is clear from *Abul Fazl's* own words who writes "virtually the position of *Wakil* was conferred on him. Everything was referred to him, and a choice ordering of administrative and financial matters was the result".¹ The *Rajah* worked whole-heartedly and proved an eminent success. *Abul Fazl*, who was not quite happy with him, was constrained to write, 'By the blessing of a happy fate he (*Todar Mal*) sullied not the skirt of wish, but regarded what was good for the state and acquired an ever-lasting good name. With a stout heart he maintained the laws of the caliphate, and had no fear of the powerful and crafty.'²

Towards the end of October, 1589 *Todar Mal* was at his own request permitted to retire and spend his last days in worship and meditation at *Hardwar* (a place of pilgrimage). But he was considered more or less indispensable. *Akbar*, therefore, rescinded his orders and recalled *Todar Mal*. But

1 A.N.III(Tr.)p. 561. Fr. Text. III, p. 381; Also see *Akbar the Great*, Vol.II, pp. 52-53, by A.L.Srivastava.

2 A.N.III(Fr.Text) p. 381.

the Rajah died on November 3, 1589, within a fortnight of his return to duty.

Todar Mal may be said to have been the last great prime minister of Akbar's reign. After his death Akbar raised Abdur Rahim, Khan-i-Khanan to the dignity of prime-minister at the end of December 1589. But the new prime minister did not enjoy real powers of the office. His appointment was a mark of distinction and an act of personal favour. Nevertheless he continued in this office for about Five and a half years. On April 19, 1595 Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Kokah, Akbar's faster brother was raised to the post of Wakil (Prime minister). He continued to hold the post till Akbar's death in October, 1605. But he too, like Abdurrahim did not play any important role in the work of administration. The Wakil who in the beginning of Akbar's reign, had enjoyed unlimited authority, political, military, financial and administrative was gradually deprived of power. At the end of Akbar's reign, the Wakil's post became more or less honorific and though he enjoyed dignity and prestige, he became a mere shadow of his former self.¹

1 Abul Fazl describes the duties of the Wakil in Ain Vol. I (Tr.) pp 4-5, (Pr. Text 2nd edition) p.5. *v*

We find that only the great amirs were appointed to the post of Wakil. No Wakil was below the ranks of Panjhaxari or a mansabdar of 5000.¹ No difference was made on the basis of religion. The ^{Iranis} ~~gains~~, the Turanis and even a Hindu rose to the dignity of the being the first minister of the Empire.

Wazir or Diwan (Finance Minister): As has been mentioned above there was no separate minister for finance during the first few years of Akbar's reign. Sometime in 1560 when ~~Rax~~ Bairam Khan was in disgrace, Akbar raised Khwajah Abdul Majid to the title of Asaf Khan and appointed him Wazir or diwan. As he was not able to reorganise the finance department and his inept handling of affairs made confusion worse confounded, he was transferred as collector of Kara in 1562.² The first step taken in the direction of the establishment of the department of Wazarat was the establishment of the diwanship of khalisa land (crown land). Sometime about the middle of 1562 Itimad Khan was appointed diwan of khalisa territory. He was a man of ~~humble~~ humble origin and

1 Rajah Todar Mal is included among the mansabdars of 4000 in the list of Abul Fazl but the Tabaqat makes him a mansabdar of 5000. Abul Fazl gives the following names as Wakis Or Prime-ministers: Bairam Khan (No.10), Munim Khan (No.11), Atgah Khan (No.15), Bahadur Khan (No.22); Khwajah Jahan (No.10); Khan Khanan Mirza Khan (No.29); ~~Khwajah Jahan~~ Khan-i-Azam Mirza Khan Kokah (No.21) - See Aim I (Tr.) p. 595.

2 10341 II p. 191

had been in his early days in the service of Islam Shah Sur.¹ Akbar recognised his ability and brought him from oblivion and conferred upon him the title of Itimad Khan. Itimad Khan placed the administration of the khalisa territory on sound foundation and affected great economy in expenditure. The next step taken by the Emperor was the appointment of a full fledged finance or revenue minister (Wazir or diwan-i-Kul) in the end of 1563, who was placed in charge of both the khalisa and jagir territories. This new post of Wazir was conferred upon Muzaffar Khan who had acted successfully, first as collector of Pasrur (in the Sialkot district) and subsequently as superintendent of imperial stores (diwan-i-bayutat) and had considerable experience of the working of the revenue department². Muzaffar Khan was an able financier and soon acquired power and influence. It was on his recommendation that Shaikh Abdur Nabi was appointed Sadr (minister of ecclesiastical and judicial affairs). It was Muzaffar Khan's confidential report that brought about in 1566 the disgrace of the Wakil (Prime Minister) Munim Khan and Khwajah Jahan, the ~~supre~~ superintendent of treasury and the keeper of the royal seal. During his ministry of eight years and a half (1563-72) Muzaffar Khan carried out several financial reforms and

1 He was an eunuch named Bahlol or Phul Malik.

2 Masam. i. Rahimi vol I p. 719

greatly consolidated his position and that of his ministry. Under him the department of Wazarat eclipsed the Wakalat. This was in confirmity with Akbar's policy of raising the status of the Wazir and abasing that of the Wakil. He honoured Muzaffar Khan, the Wazir by accepting an invitation of an entertainment at his newly constructed mansion at Agra. On account of Akbar's favour, Muzaffar Khan was soon intoxicated with power and began to think himself indispensable. He fell out of favour and was removed from his office about the middle of 1572 and exiled to Mecca. But soon after Akbar forgave him and recalled him and re-appointed him diwan(1573).¹ Besides being given the charge of finance, he was this time appointed Wakil also. But he was again removed after nearly one and a half year because he declined to carry out certain military and financial reforms.

Todar Mal was associated with the finance ministry for several years before he was appointed diwan of Gujarat in 1573. He is for the first time mentioned as a Wazir in connection with the siege of Ranthambhor in March 1569.² Abul Fazl writes " for greater security Rajah Todar Mal who had

1 It seem probable that Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan who was appointed diwan of the khalisa in 1568 in place of Itimad Khan, after Muzaffar Khan's dismissal, officiated as diwan-i-kul. The ministry of finance consisted of two wings, diwan-i-khalisa and diwan-i-jagir and both these were under the diwan-i-kul or wazir.

2. The author of the *Iqbalnama* says in the account of 14th RY. (1569-70) that Todar Mal was the absolute wazir in this period.
Iqbal II P. 234.

the control of the Wazirship was also employed in this service." In September, 1573 he was appointed diwan of Gujarat but not of the whole empire. After his return from Gujarat sometime in 1573 Rajah Todar Mal was appointed full-fledged Wazir of the empire. This is clear from what Abul Fazl says in connection with Rai Ram Das's appointment as deputy diwan in February, 1574. "An order was issued, says he, "that the officials should as before be Rajah Todar Mal's men so that neither should the affairs of the diwani suffer by the Rajah's absence, nor the writing of dismissal (from diwanship) be applied to him, and that the confidence of service rendered might be maintained." It makes it clear that Todar Mal had been appointed diwan (finance minister) before February 1574 and that he was allowed to retain the post even after he was sent on military duties to Bengal. In October 1575, ~~the~~ (Rajah Todar Mal) was appointed mushrif-i-diwan, a post higher than that of finance minister but lower than that of the prime minister.¹ Abul Fazl says that "financial and territorial matters were entrusted to him and he was made mushrif-i-diwan. He served with honesty and absence of avarice."² But the rajah was spiteful and revengeful "such a quality is considered by the wise to be

1 See Ain. Vol. I (2nd ed.) p. 6. Mushrif-i-diwan and Ashraf-i-diwan are synonymous terms. ✓

2 A.N. Vol. III (Tr.) pp. 223.

one of the worst qualities in a man especially in an administrator to whom men's affairs are entrusted and who has been selected as the Wakil of such a World-Lord."¹

A new finance minister or Wazir namely Khwajah Shah Mansur was appointed in November, 1576. Obviously the Khwajah was to work under Rajah Todar Mal.² But when Muzaffar Khan was appointed Wakil or prime minister in October, 1577 both the Rajah and the Khwajah became his subordinates.³ Thus there came to be an unusual combination of three financiers of great ability and experience. ✓

Akbar took advantage of this combination and held consultations with them in November, 1577 to discuss measures for the improvement of administration of finance. The first subject discussed was the reform of mint and coinage. The royal mints were placed in charge of top-ranking officials Khwajah Abdug Samad Shirin Qalam was appointed director of the royal mints and given direct charge of the mint at Fatehpur Sikri. The charge of Lahore mint was

1 A.N. Vol.III)Pr.Text)p.158; (Tr.) p.223.

It seems due to jealousy or personal disliking, Abul Fazl has omitted the name of Rajah Todar Mal from the list given by him in the Ain who were Wakils of the Empire. In Akbarnamah, himself has described him as Wakil. ✓ On several occasions. Following the Ain neither Ibn Hasan ~~does~~ not include Todar Mal among Akbar's Wakils nor R.P. Tripathi mentions the Rajah's name in some aspects of Muslim Administration. In Oct. 1575 Rajah Todar Mal was appointed mushrif-i-diwan and in March 1582 he was promoted to a higher post what was that higher post, if it was not Wakalat or prime ministership? or during the reign of Akbar no post higher than that of Mushrif-i-diwan except Wakalat? See Ain. Vol.1(2nd ed.)p. 6. ✓

2 'In accordance with former arrangements the settlement of the affairs of Wazirship was made by him(the rajah).
A.N. Vol.III(Tr.)p.

given to Muzaffar Khan, that of Bengal to Rajah Todar Mal, of Jaunpur to Khwajah Shah Mansur, of Gujarat to Khwajah Imaduddin Husain and of Patna to Asaf Khan. This extraordinary talented ministry brokeup when the Wakil Muzaffar Khan was appointed governor of Bengal and was sent to that province on March 15, 1579.

The finance ministry under Todar Mal and Khwajah Shah Mansur divided the empire into twelve provinces to each of which a governor (sipah salar), a diwan, a bakshi, a mir adl, a sadr, a kotwal, a mirbahr (admiral) and recorder (waqayanawis) were appointed. The famous ten year revenue settlement (am-i-dahsala) was formulated and enforced. This measure was planned by the two ministers but as Rajah Todar Mal was sent to Bihar in March, 1580, it was implemented by Shah Mansur. For about 4 months (during the absence of Todar Mal) Khwajah Shah Mansur was in sole charge of the finance ministry. He cut down the allowances of troops in Bihar and Bengal and enforced the reduced with retrospective with effect. This became one of the causes of widespread rebellion in Bengal and Bihar. On Todar Mal's recommendation, the Khwajah was dismissed from Wazirship and placed under the custody of Shah Quli Mahram and about the

In the 21st Ry. when Shah Mansur was made Wazir, MUZAFFAR KHAN who was (contd..) a dictator Diwan came to know of Shah's wisdom and depth of knowledge, he became jealous and began to down him. J & B AL II 311.

- 3 'Rajah Todar Mal and Khwajah Shah Mansur were ordered to perform their duties in consultation with him (Muzaffar Khan).' ~~Muzaffar Khan~~ One day in the assembly, MUZAFFAR Khan clearly said that if Shah Mansur interfered he would separate himself from him. Thereupon Shah went to Jaunpur and joined the service of Munim Khan. After the death of Munim Khan, Akbar called him in Ameer and again appointed the Shah on the post of Wazir. J & B AL II 312.

middle of August 1580 Wazir Khan was appointed to take his place.¹ But within a few months Shah Mansur was released and reappointed¹ and Wazir Khan who was acting as Wazir was sent to take charge of the governorship of Awadh (November, 1580). But in February, 1581, Shah Mansur was again suspended and soon after executed on the charge of treason. Qulij Khan was then appointed wazir and Zain Khan Kokah and Hakim Abul Falh were also ordered to be present in the Wazir's office and superintend matters.² This arrangement did not last long as Todar Mal on his return from the eastern provinces resumed charge as finance minister in September, 1581.³ It seem that though~~x~~ Todar Mal was often sent out on military duties, but he laways retained his lien as a finance minister and someone was appointed to officiate during his absence and he continued to be associated with the ministry of finance in one capacity or another till his death in 1589. In April, 1582, Todar Mal was appointed Prime minister or Wakil.⁴

When Akbar started on his first visit to Kashmir on the 28th April, 1589 Rajah Todar Mal alongwith Rajah Bhagwant Das and Qulij Khan was left in charge of the central government in Lahore. On November 8, 1589 Rajah Todar Mal died

1 a A.N. III Tr. P. 461-62

1 Abul Fazl says 'As it appeared that in the working of accounts and demanding of arrears there was no fault of the Khwajah's except the thought of increasing the revenue and a failure to recognise the circumstances of the time, he was again exalted to that high office.'

-A.N. Vol. III (Tr.)

2. Ibid II P. 346 A.N. III (Tr.) PP 501-504

3. A.N. III Tr. P. 545

4. Ibid PP 520-61 ✓

in Lahore.¹ After his death Akbar appointed on November 15, 1589 Khwajah Shamsuddin to the post of Wazir or finance minister and in June next, year Qazi Ali Baghadadi was promoted to the post of nazir bayutat. On February 12, 1592 the entire ^{Khalisa} crown territory was divided into four zones to facilitate the revenue administration and each was placed under an able officer. All the zones continued to function under the charge of the new Wazir Qulij Khan, who seems to have taken over from Khwajah Shamsuddin in June, 1590. In June 1594 collectors of the khalisa and jagir territories and ^{assayers} ~~mayers~~ of the mints were summoned to court and directed to fix weights of the various kinds of coins and their relative values. This work was undertaken under the supervision of Khwajah Shamsuddin in two months time.

On August 15, 1594 there was a further change in finance ministry. Finance minister or Wazir Qulij Khan was at this time appointed governor of Kabul and Khwajah Shamsuddin again became Wazir. The work of realisation of customs duties was reorganised. The territory from Lahore to Hindu Koh was placed in respect of this work under Zain Khan Koka; that from Lahore to Lower Bengal under Daulat Khan; from Lahore to Gujarat under Ram Das Kachhwaha; from Lahore to Zahin Dawar under Daulat Khurd and from Delhi to Awadh under Miyan Khanu.² ✓

1. The author of the Masin says that in 34 R.Y. Raja Todar Mal who was Wazir - i.e. - Sultanate and Muzirif - i.e. - diwan died.
Masin - i. Rahimi vol II p. 920.

In June, 1598 Rai Patr Das who had a great experience in revenue administration as a provincial Diwan, was raised to the office of diwan at the centre and it was decided that he should work jointly with Khawajah Shamsuddin. An order was given says Abul Fazl, "that as in the case of Muzaffar Khan and Rajah Todar Mal, he (Patr Das) and Khwajah Shamsuddin should help one another in carrying on the work." But soon afterwards the Khwajah was transferred to the governorship of Punjab and Patr Das became the sole Wazir of the empire. Patr Das had hardly worked as a wazir for about a year, when on report that he took bribes and vexed the people, he was removed from the finance ministry in August, 1599 and was sent to deal with the Rajah of Bhatha. Asaf Khan II was now appointed wazir or diwan-i-kul. Qulij Khan became mir mal but he could not function in this office for long.

The last important change in the finance department was the appointment of Muqim, who was then diwan-i-bayutat, to the office of wazir or diwan-i-kul in place ^{of Asaf Khan and he was given the title of Wazir Khan}. The office of diwan-i-bayutat was conferred on Muiz. The final step taken by Akbar was the placing of the department of finance (wazarat) under Prince Sultan Salim. Abul Fazl writes "An order was given that the diwans should manage the affairs of the kingdom with the advice of Prince Sultan Salim and that, his seal should be affixed to the grants of officer's mansabs."

The study of wazarat under Akbar throws light on the fact that the Emperor promoted to the post of Wazir or diwan-i-kul (finance minister of the empire). Only those officers who had sufficient knowledge of revenue administration and had already given proof of their ability. Able and experienced financiers alone were raised to such dignity. Another interesting feature to note is that two ~~PA~~ Hindus attained the honour of being diwan-i-kul- one Rajah Todar Mal and the other Rai Patr Das.¹ ✓

Mir Bakshi : The mir bakshi (army minister) was required to possess literary as well as military qualifications, for besides being in charge of recruitment of troops, their equipment and discipline, he had regular office work like other ministers. His rank was next to that of the Wazir . He was the pay-master general of the army and had to keep a register of all the mansabdars who were employed on civil or military duties. The Mir Bakshi² ✓ was not the

1 In the list of the Ain, Abul Fazl mentions the following names who had been the Wazir or finance minister upto the 40th year of the reign. - Mir Azizullah Turbati; Khwajah Jalaluddin Mahmud of Khurasan (No.65); Khwajah Muinuddin Farankhudi (No.128); Khwajah Abdul Majid Asaf Khan (No.49) Wazir Khan (No.41); Muzaffar Khan (No.37); Rajah Todar Mal (No.39); Khwajah Shah Mansur of Shiraz (No.122); Qulij Khan (No.42); Khwajah Shamsuddin Khawfi (No.159). Ain. Vol.I (Tr.) p.595.

2 As the work of the department increased considerably due to the expansion of the empire, more than one bakshi was appointed to assist the Mir bakshi. There also used to be a bakhshi of the army. When an expedition was sent, a bakhshi was appointed who was placed in charge of the army, commissioned for that campaign and he was called bakhshi-i-lashkar. There was a separate bakhshi for Ahadi troops. There was two other kinds of bakhshis known as Bakhshi-i-Huzur Bakhshi-i-Shagird Pesha. ✓

commander-~~in~~ⁱⁿ-chief of the forces, but he was sometimes required to conduct important military operations. He accompanied the king on his tours and looked to the arrangements of the royal camp, especially the allotment of places therein to the mansabdars. The first mention of Mir bakhshi in Akbarnamah occurs in connection with the events of March 1565, when Lashkar Khan, Mir bakhshi was sent to Garha to demand from Asaf Khan the war elephants and other valuable booty that had fallen into his hands in Gondwana. An order was issued that khwajah Ghiyasuddin Ali of Qazwin should act for Lashkar Khan during his absence, "Apparently Lashkar Khan must have been appointed to the post of mir bakhshi before March 1565. He took part in the fight against the Uzbeks in the same year but in April 1566 he was removed from the post of mir bakhshi on account of his slackness in the suppression of the Uzbek rebellion and his duplicity in the peace talk that followed. He was however, pardoned some time after and restored to his office. He must have discharged his duties satisfactorily, for we find him in 1571 holding the office of mir arzi in addition to that of ~~mir~~ bakhshi. In July, 1571 he came drunk to the court and created a disturbance, Akbar was highly ~~enraged~~ ~~enraged~~ and ordered him to be tied to horse's tail, and led round in that condition. He was deprived of his office and sent to prison. In September, 1572 he was released and reappointed mir bakhshi. He seems to have suffered an eclipse once again, for we find Shahbaz Khan acting as mir bakhshi during Akbar's campaign against Ibrahim Husain Mirza

in Gujarat. But Lashkar Khan again figures as mir bakhshi when he along with Parmanand led the imperial advance troops for the conquest of Bihar and Bengal in October, 1573. In fact he ceased to be army minister after he had left for Patna and Shahbaz Khan took his place immediately after. Hence forward Lashkar Khan worked in the eastern provinces far away from the court. He fought bravely in the battle with Daud and died of wounds in 1575. Lashkar Khan seems to have been a good soldier but not a general or organiser of outstanding ability. He did not play any conspicuous role either at court or in the battle field.

The next notable mir bakshi of the reign was Shahbaz Khan Kambu. His first important employment was as Mir Tuzuk (person in charge of royal processions) (1572). During Lashkar Khan's eclipse, he seems to have officiated as mir bakhshi from July, 1571 to September, 1572. In this capacity he accompanied Akbar on the Gujarat expedition in 1572 and after the conquest he was sent to Ahmadabad to bring the Gujarati nobles, whose loyalty was not above suspicion, to the royal camp. After the battle of Sarnal in December 1572, he was chastised for his negligence on account of which Mahmud, son of Sikandar Sur, had succeeded in escaping from his custody and fleeing to the Deccan. 2

In 1573 Shahabaz Khan was formally appointed mir~~e~~ bakhshi of the empire and in 1575 he was entrusted with the important administrative duty of enforcing military regulations relating to the reorganisation of the army and the branding of horses and of converting jagir lands into the khalisa territory. His services in this work seem to have won Akbar's appreciation.

But Shahbaz Khan was more at ^{home} ~~home~~ in the battle-field than in the paper work (official closet) and therefore, we find him in active service in many parts of the country. In 1576 he captured the strong fort of Siwana in Marwar from Chandra Sen Rathor who had defied one after another three imperial commanders of the stature of Shah Quli Khan Mohram, Rai Rai Singh and Jalal Khan Qurchi. In June of the same year he was despatched to Bihar where he suppressed the rebellion of Gajapati of Jagdishpur and captured the forts of Rohtas and Shergarh. He was commissioned to lead one after another, four expeditions, to Mewar- in 1577-78, 1578-79, 1579-80 and 1599. Of these the second was very successful and Shahbaz was able to capture the impregnable fortress of Kumbhalgarh and recover Gogunda and Udaipur. After the conclusion of the third expedition he was sent in 1580 to fight the Bihar and Bengal rebels. Although he defeated Arak Bahadur and Dalpat Ujjainiya, he made delay in making over Hajipur to the governor, Khan-i-Azam. Being

an orthodox Sunni he was at heart sympathetic to the rebels, but he soon realised the mistake and returned to duty. In January 1582 he was imprisoned and placed under the custody of Raisal Darbari on account of his insolent behaviour, but was released at the intercession of Abul Fazl in September, October of the same year and soon after deputed to Bengal to suppress the rebellion of Masum Kabuli and restore peace in that ~~xxx~~ provinces. In September, 1589 he was directed to proceed to Swat to punish the remnant of the Yusufzai rebels, but he returned to camp without fully accomplishing the task. He was, therefore, sent to prison on December 27, 1590 and was released in June, 1593. He then served under Shahrukh Mirza and Prince Murad in the Deccan and took part in the siege of Ahmadnagar. His last important assignment was in Mewar where he was required to accompany Salim in June, 1599. He died at Ajmer on November 11, 1599.

Shahbaz Khan was an able soldier and general and a successful army minister. He was also a good organiser and administrator. He elaborated military regulations and enforced them rigidly and rapidly.

The third important mir bakhshi of the reign was Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. He belonged to a distinguished family and his father and grand father had held high posts in the reigns of Babur and Humayun. His first important employment was that of diwan of Gujarat in which capacity he did excellent work and maintained the regulations devised and enforced by Todar Mal.

In 1583 he was appointed bakhshi of Gujarat, where he saw a great deal of fighting against Muzaffar III. In 1585 the governor Khan-i-Khanan deputed him to the Deccan but he had to return very soon. In February 1592 he was entrusted with the revenue administration of one of the four zones, namely that of Ajmer, Gujarat and Malwa, into which the Empire was then divided, in addition to his duties as Bakshi of Gujarat.

Nizamuddin played an important part in the suppression of Muzaffar's ever recurring rebellion. His services were rewarded and his rank was raised. He was summoned to court at the end of November 1589 and on March 21, 1592 he was promoted to the post of mir bakhshi vice Jaafar Beg Asaf Khan, who was sent against the Raushaniya leader Jalala. He soon won the good opinion of the Emperor, but unfortunately his promising life was cut short by premature death. He died of fever on November 7, 1594 at the age of 45.

Nizamuddin Ahmad was a good soldier and a brilliant scholar. His *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* is a work of great literary and historical merit. Badauni says that he won the appreciation of the Emperor and acquired an ascendancy at the court on account of his ability, loyalty and diligence and his balanced approach to problems of administration. He could

not see eye to eye with Qulij Khan, the wazir who had to suffer an eclipse, owing to the superior talents of the mir bakhshi.

Shaikh Farid Bakhari, who ^{succeeded Nizamuddin Ahmad was Akbar's last} mir bakhshi. He was a saiyyad whose ancestors came originally from Bokhara and belonged to a family of religious divines. He took up service under Akbar at an early age and rose to the mansab of 4000 zat and 2000 sawar. He fought in Bengal and Orissa and was deputed by the governor Khan-i-Azam to conduct negotiations with Qutlu Afghan of Orissa where he narrowly escaped imprisonment on account of a conspiracy hatched by Bahadur Kuroh. He won the appreciation of the Emperor who honoured him by accepting an invitation of entertainment at his residence in Delhi in 1585. He was sent to fight the Raushaniya rebels. He accompanied Akbar to Kashmir and fought the Kashmir rebel Yadgar. In September 1594 he was associated with Asaf Khan in the duties of bakhshi and received orders to reduce to submission the rebellious rajahs of the hilly districts north of the Punjab. He succeeded in subduing the Rajahs of Jammu, Ramgarh, Jasrana, Lakhanpur, Mau, Nagarkot etc. who accepted Akbar's suzerainty. In November, 1594 he was appointed mir bakhshi. Farid was sent to Burhanpur to persuade the rebellious king Bahadur Khan of Khandesh to submit but he failed to bring him round and was, therefore, directed to besiege Asirgarh. ✓ He rendered

valuable service at the siege. Sometime after Akbar's return to Agra Shaikh Farid was promoted to 4000 zat and 2000 sawar and was given a flag and a drum.

The most notable work of Shaikh Farid was to foil the conspiracy against Prince Salim by declining to join Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Kokah in support of Prince Khusrau and by proceeding to place his entire army at the disposal of the heir apparent. This prevented a civil war and brought about the peaceful accession of Prince Salim (Jahangir).

But the list given by Abul Fazl in the Ain is misleading.¹ Some of the names mentioned by him in this list find no place either in the Akbarnamah or in any other contemporary works of the reign. The bakhshis appointed from time to time either to officiate for permanent incumbent (on leave or on military duties away from the capital) or to act in a temporary capacity were Rai Purukhotam (who was appointed bakhshi in June 1574); Qazi Ali Baghdadi, Jafar Beg Asaf Khan and Khwajah Ghiyasuddin

1 Abul Fazl gives the following names who had been appointed as bakhshis: Khwajah Jahan (No. 110); Khwajah Tahir of Sijistan (No. 111); Maulana Habi Bihzadi; Maulana Darwisk Mohammad of Mashhad; Maulana Ishqi; Muqim of Khurasan (No. 410); Sultan Mahmud of Badakhshan; Lashkar Khan (No. 90); Shahbaz Khan (No. 80); Ray Purushotam; Shaikh Farid Bukhari (No. 99); Qazi Ali of Baghdad; Jafar Beg Asaf Khan (No. 98); Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad; Khwajagi Fathullah (No. 258).—Ain (Tr.) I, pp. 595-96.

Ali Qazwini. Most of the bakhshis of the reign were soldiers by training and profession.¹

Sadr: The Sadr enjoyed great prestige and was indispensable in an Islamic state. From among the Ulama (theologians) one was selected who was termed as Shaikhul Islam. He was also known as Qazi-ul-quzat (the Chief Qazi), Sadr-i-Jahan (Chief of the world) or Sadr-us-Sudur (chief of the Ulama), or simply Sadr (chief). He was minister of ecclesiastical and judicial affairs. ✓

During the first twenty-two years of Akbar's reign there were four Sadrs and all of them were orthodox Muslims. The first of these was Shaikh Gadai Kambu, a learned Shia divine, who was raised to the post of Sadr by Bairam Khan soon after Akbar's accession. The Shaikh was a very learned man and also a possessor of considerable gifts. He continued to hold the office of Sadr until his patron's dismissal in 1560. Both Bairam Khan and Akbar often attended his religious discourses and held him in high esteem. During his tenure of office he not only enjoyed unfettered authority in ecclesiastical matters of which he was minister, but he had also a voice in all other affairs of the state, whether political, financial or military. Bairam Khan invariably consulted him, ✓

1 Akbar the Great, Vol.II, pp. 74-75 by A.L.Srivastava. ✓

before taking action in the work of administration. The Shaikh wielded full powers of bestowing subsistence allowances and grants of land to Muslim divines, scholars and medicants. He deprived many former recipients, particularly Afghans, of their grants and bestowed them on those who behaved subserviently and were Shaikhs like himself.

Not being a man of strong sense of loyalty and gratefulness Shaikh Gadai deserted his patron Bairam Khan immediately after the latter's downfall, and like most other officers hastened to Delhi to join the Emperor. Akbar received him with courtesy but did not confirm the Shaikh in the office of Sadr, because of the unpopularity he had earned on account of his vanity and unbridled use of authority.

After the disgrace of Shaikh Gadai, Maulana Abdul Baqi was appointed Sadr, which office he had held during the reign of Humayun. He was raised to the office probably in September, 1560 when he had arrived from Kabul along with several other notable officers. We are in the dark about his powers and achievements, but in personal and official integrity he was certainly not above suspicion. He seems to have worked in this capacity till 1562. ✓

Abdul Baqi was succeeded in the office of the Sadr by Khwajah Mohammad Salah, grandson of the famous Abdullah Marwaridi early in 1562. He continued to act as Sadr till 1563-64. But he did not possess independent powers in the

matter of grants of jagirs to religious men, without the concurrence of the officers of the ^{revenue} ~~revenue~~ department. In religious matters however, he seems to have wielded full authority. He died at Delhi in June, 1598.

Shaikh Abdun Nabi was the most celebrated Sadr of Akbar's reign. As there was a great deal of corruption in the ecclesiastical and religious department and all the previous Sadrs were guilty of bribery and malpractices, Akbar was in search of a man of ability and integrity and therefore, on the recommendation of the revenue minister Muzaffar Khan, he raised Abdun Nabi to the office of the Sadr sometime in 1565 and he continued to work in this capacity till the end of 1578. He was an extremely bigoted Sunni and was responsible for persecuting a large number of Muslim heretics, particularly Shias. In the beginning, he enjoyed great reputation as a scholar and saintly person, and Akbar not only attended his discourses, but once or twice reverently picked up the Shaikh's shoes and placed them before his feet. In all matters relating to religion and in that of subsistence allowances and grant of jagirs for charitable purposes he wielded full authority. Badaoni writes, when he was appointed Sadr-us-Sudur, he distributed enormous areas of land to the people as madad-i-maash, pensions and religious endowments, and never was there in the reign of any monarch, a Sadr-us Sudur so powerful as Shaikh Abdun Nabi, or one

who alienated ~~the~~ tenth part of what he did in religious endowments."¹ ✓

Shaikh Abdun Nabi was religious only in the formal sense of the term. He was in fact very worldly, greedy of money, fond of power, and shallow in learning. The shallowness of his knowledge was exposed in the discussions at the Ibadat¹ Khana, where he committed fallacy after fallacy and often contradicted himself. Akbar became disgusted with him and when his bribery, mismanagement and rapacity were revealed in an enquiry into the grant of land that he had made, Akbar lost faith in his honesty. The Shaikh's bigotry in putting a Brahman of Mathura to death^m, the alleged charge of blasphemy alienated the Emperor's sympathy and paved the way for his downfall. In 1579 he was exiled to Mecca, and on return from there without permission, he was imprisoned and placed in the custody of Abul Fazl. He died in prison in 1583. It is said that he was strangled one night.

On enquiry Akbar found that many grantees did not have all their land in one place and they were harassed by revenue officers and the agents of powerful jagirdars. Moreover some grasping persons had encroached upon the Khalisa territory. Akbar, therefore, decided to curtail the

1 Muntakhabut Tawarikh, Vol.III(Pr.Text.) p.80. ✓

powers of the Sadr. He ordered that aima (free grant) land should not be mixed up with khalisa lands or jagir lands. After a due enquiry into the titles to the grantees, he assigned to each grantee all his land in one place. Those who were in illegal possession of land were deprived of their assignments and that land was converted into khalisa territory. Able officers were appointed in every province and district to enforce these reforms. In January 1578, Akbar decided to appoint provincial Sadrs, who were to be in charge of land ⁱⁿ free grants and cash allowances in their respective provinces. Earlier there used to be one Sadr for the whole empire. With the appointment of provincial Sadr, the powers of the Chief Sadr were considerably reduced and in order to distinguish him from the provincial Sadrs, he was termed as Sadr-us-Sudur or the Chief Sadr. He stopped taking advice from the Orthodox Ulema and naturally the Chief Sadr ceased to be his supreme religious adviser. It was now not necessary for the Chief Sadr to be the upholder of Islamic Law or even himself to be deeply learned in Islamic theology. Akbar clipped the powers of the chief sadr to the extent that his recommendation was not necessary for the grant of scholarships and religious jagirs. Akbar prescribed qualifications of eligibility of holding lands and stipends and conferred power on other important courtiers to bring deserving cases to the Emperor's notice. Now it was

not necessary that petitions for free grant of land should go to the Emperor through the Chief Sadr only. At the same time all those grantees who held more than 500 bighas of land were directed to bring their grant deeds for the Emperor's personal inspection, failing which they were to be deprived of their lands. As most of the grantees were found unworthy, those holding 100 bighas or more, if unspecified in their grant deeds, were to lose three fifths of it. But the Irani and Turani women were exempted from this general rule. All those who had abandoned their old land and taken possession of new land were made to resign one-fourth of it to the state.

Early in 1579, Abdun Nabi who was found guilty of malpractices was dismissed from the post of the Sadr. By this time Akbar had completely overhauled the judicial and ecclesiastical department and the chief Sadr was no longer to be an orthodox muslim, much less the Shaikhu-ul-Islam, who could not take broad views and did not function for the entire Indian community. The Emperor was keen that deserving Hindu scholars and religious divines should also be made beneficiaries. Hence he decided to appoint a man of tolerant view and broad vision to the office of Sadr. Therefore, he appointed Sultan Khwajah, a liberal Muslim and a member of the Din-i-Ilahi, who had recently returned from Mecca to the post of Sadr in January, 1579 and was given the title of Tarkhan!

In October 1581, Akabar further curtailed the powers of the Chief Sadr and appointed honest and experienced men to look after the administration of free grant lands of the empire. For this purpose the empire was divided into six zones with a Sadr in charge of each. The provinces of Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat were placed under the Hakim Abul Fath; those of Agra, Kalpi and Kalinjar under Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi (Older brother of Shaikh Abul Fazl); the country from Hajipur to the Sarju under Hakim Humam; Bihar under Hakim Ali; Bengal under Hakim Ainulmulk and the Punjab under Qazi Ali Bakshi (Baghdad). The Chief Sadr continued to be there but he was no longer Shaikh-ul-Islam and the principal interpreter of the Muslim law.

Sultan Khwajah died at Fatehpur Sikri on July 25, 1584 and Mir Fathullah Shirazi was appointed to succeed him. But as he was sent on political missions to the Deccan, the duties of the Sadr's office devolved on his assistant, named Kamal. The powers of the Sadr suffered further, diminution. Akbar directed Mir Fathullah that he should not grant more than 15 bighas of land without his permission. We are told by Badaoni that Mir Fathullah did not have the power of conferring even five bighas of land, he was in fact an imaginary Sadr.¹ On Mir Fathullah's death in August

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II, p. 343 (Pr. Text).

In the 31st A.Y. MIR FATHULLAH SHIRAZI was given the title of AZD-ud-daulah and the Sadarat of whole Hindustan, an inam of Rs 5000, 1000 horse and a khilat. In the same year he was sent with Khan-i-Azam to Deccan. MAARIF-i-RAHIMI PP 905, 907.

1589, Akbar appointed Sadr-i-Jahan as Sadr of the empire. He was a member of the Din-i-Ilahi and consequently, a man of liberal and tolerant views. The Sadr of Akbar's later days was no longer the head of the Ulama and the Chief interpreter of the Muslim law. He no longer exercised effective moral control over the Emperor's private life and over his religious opinions and conduct. Most of the old qazis who were found corrupt and were notorious in taking bribes from the grant holders were dismissed.¹ Sadr-i-Jahan ~~was~~ was the last Sadr of Akbar's reign and continued ~~the~~ to ~~ecclesiastical department~~ work as such to the end of his reign.² ✓

ecclesiastical department from the Judicial department

It seems Akbar separated, Sadr remained the head of ecclesiastical department as before and a separate minister to be in charge of the judicial department was appointed. Sadr was no longer the Qazi-ul-Qujat. Earlier the Sadr was the Chief Qazi or Qazi-ul-Qujat and in this capacity ~~only~~ he was the second highest judicial authority, next only to the Emperor, who held court and decided cases, usually

1 Abul Fazl mentions the following names who been Sadrs upto the 40th year of Akbar's reign: Mir Fathullah; ~~Say~~ Saykh Gadai, son of Shaykh Jamal Kambu; Khwajagi Mohammad Salih, descendent in the third generation from Khwaja Abdullah Marwarid, Maulana Abdul Baqi; Shaikh Abdun-Nabi; Sultan Khwajah (No.108); Sadr-i-Jahan (No.194).

2 See Ain. Vol.I (Tr.) pp. 522-23. He had been a mansabdar of 700 upto the 4th year of Akbar's reign but later he got a mansab of 2000. During the reign of Jahangir, Sadr-i-Jahan was promoted to the rank of 4000 and received Qannauj as jagir. Under Jahangir he is said to have given away more lands in five years than under Akbar in fifty. He died in 1020 A.H., at the age, it is believed of 120 years.

the appeals from the Chief qazi's court. In this capacity the Chief Sadr recommended candidates for appointment to the posts^{of} provincial, district and city Qazis. When Sadr-i-Jahan returned in the 34th year of the reign from an embassy to the ruler of Turan, and he was appointed Sadr of the empire, it seems probable that he was not given the charge of the judicial department. This further curtailed the powers of the Sadr. The judicial department was placed in charge of Mir Abdul Hay, Mir Adl and he was appointed Qazi-ul-Qazat or Chief Justice of the Empire. A passage given in the Ain-i-Akbari confirms the above statement. " In the 35th year, at the feast of Abanmah, the court witnessed a curious spectacle. The Sadr and Mir Abdul Hay (No.230), the Chief Justice of the empire, took part in a drinking feast and Akbar was so amused at seeing his ecclesiastical and judicial dignitaries over their cups."¹ ✓

Akbar followed a policy of checks and balances and made the ministers inter-dependent in matters of administration and all of them dependent upon the will of the Emperor. First, he clipped the powers of the Prime Minister and reduced him to a figure head. The Finance minister who was once a subordinate of the Prime Minister, was pulled up to a position of equality with him and in the matter of enjoyment of substantial powers even^{to} one of superiority. The army minister came next in importance and the ecclesiastical and judicial minister who had once enjoyed the highest influence and respect was made to sink to a deplorably low status.

1. Ain. Vol I (Tr.) p.522.

Besides his ministers, Akbar had an advisory council of twenty members who were senior courtiers and did not necessarily hold any definite office in the state service. It was a novelty in medieval Indian administration, for no muslim ruler of India before. Akbar had such an institution.¹ Like the ancient Hindu kings, who were assisted in the work of administration by the Sabha and the samiti, Akbar was assisted by the advisory council besides his ministers. It was an informal assembly presided over by the Emperor, or sometimes by a senior noble nominated for the purpose and its meetings were held usually during the night. Akbar held consultations with ^{them} on momentous matters of war and peace. Although the decisions of the council were not binding on the Emperor, yet he asked for the views of all the members of the council, and generally abided by their decisions. Sometimes he rejected the unanimous decision of the council if it did not appeal to him. Abul Fazl speaks of a meeting of the council on the eve of Akbar's campaign to Kabul in July, 1581, when it was proposed to consult the Emperor's advisers whether he should make peace with Mirza Hakim and return to the capital or proceed to Kabul to crush the latter's power.² Inasmuch as choice meditation and the

1 Akbar the Great, Vol.II, p.82 by A.L.Srivastava. ✓

2 AN III Tr. pp 839-40

taking of the counsel are a praise worthy habit of the Shahinshah, he directed that the court officers to the number of twenty should hold a special meeting and should give answers in accordance with acuteness and knowledge. He also ordered the writer (Abul Fazl) to ascertain the opinion of each and to report the result to him. The order was carried out and everybody spoke as he had hitherto done. As none of them wished to march they all spoke in favour of pardoning the Mirza and of returning.¹ Akbar rejected their unanimous decision and ordered the army to march to Kabul. It is clear from the above passage that Akbar kept himself aloof from the meeting and the high officers to the number of twenty were to hold a meeting in Akbar's absence and that Abul Fazl was nominated to ^{over}preside the meeting and intimate to the Emperor its decisions. The nobles were free to express their opinion without any fear of the Emperor.

The account of Monserrete, an eye-witness deserves mention here. He says that Akbar 'has about twenty Hindu(?) chieftains as ministers and counsellors to assist both in the work of governing the empire and in the control of the royal household. They are devoted to him and are very wise

1 A.N. Vol.III(Pr. Text), p.357.

and reliable in conducting public business. They are always with him and are admitted to the innermost parts of the palace which is a privilege not allowed even to the Mughal nobles. 'He adds: The following is the method the king employs in deliberation- he asks each counsellor privately for his own opinion, and then himself decides the course which seems to be supported by the largest number and the most experienced. He asks their advice even about subjects, upon which he has already made up his mind. If, however, any of them does not agree with him, he listens patiently, and sometimes even alters his own opinion.'¹

In the provinces there were three important posts on the executive side, namely Subedar (governor), the faujdar and the thanedar. The higher mansabdars or great amirs were mostly appointed governors of subas or provinces. The governors of the provinces under Akbar were at first called Sipahsalar; towards the end of Akbar's reign, Hakims, afterwards Sahib-Subah or Subedars and still later merely Subas.²

Some provinces acquired great importance due to their ~~strategic~~ strategic positions and such provinces were usually entrusted to the great amirs, ^{alone.} ~~alone.~~ The Subedaris of

1 Commentarius, pp. 203-204. ✓

2 Ain. Vol. I (Tr.), p. 252.

In 1580 A.D. in every province a viceroy (Sipahsalar), a diwan, a bakhshi, a Mir Asst, a Sadr, a kotwal, a Mir Bahr (Admiral) and a recorder (Wagwanavis) were appointed. AN III. 11. P. 413. ✓

Kabul, Punjab, Malwa, Gujarat, Bihar and Bengal acquired great importance due to their strategic position and the great amirs generally of the rank of 5000 or above were appointed as governors of these provinces. Then there were provinces like Kashmir, Ajmer, Agra, Allahabad, etc. to which high mansabdars from the rank of 2,500 to 5,000 were appointed as governors. Thus the governors of the provinces used to be high mansabdars and a mansabdar below the rank of 2000 never seems to be employed as governor of a province. Generally nobles holding the ranks from 2500 to 7000 were appointed as subedars of the provinces and the provincial charges differed considerably in importance.¹

The faujdar was the head of a district and was a military officer. He was the representative of the governor of the province and worked under his supervision.² He was both a civil and military officer. Actually, the charges of the faujdar varied considerably in importance. The governor of Ajmer province was known as faujdar-i-Ajmer, the whole province being regarded under his faujdari jurisdiction.

1 In 1580 the empire was divided into 12 provinces-Agra, Delhi, Allahabad, Awadh, Ajmer, Ahmadabad (Gujarat), Bihar, Bengal, Kabul, Lahore (Punjab), Multan and Malwa. After the conquest of the Deccan three new provinces viz., Berar, Ahmadnagar and Khandesh were added to the empire, raising the number to fifteen and the last three were constituted into a viceroyalty under Prince Daniyal. See Akbar the Great, Vol. II by A.L. Srivastava, pp. 111-119.

2 The faujdar was the general head of the district and incharge of the executive side of the administration.

In Gujarat province there was the faujdari of Sorath which due to its strategic position acquired great ascendancy and was placed in charge of the nobles of high rank only. Faujdaris of Banswara, Jaunpur, Sarhind, Sambhal, etc. were considered to be of great importance and were given only to high mansabdars. On the other hand were very small faujdaris e.g. the environs of the city of Ahmadabad, Rai Sen ^{and others} etc. to which mansabdars of low ranks were generally appointed. As far as the appointment to the post of faujdar was concerned generally mansabdars from the rank of 500 upto the rank of 5,000 were appointed as faujdars. Some forts acquired great importance and were placed in charge of high nobles only. It seems that such forts were constituted into small faujdaris and the commandant of the fort who was also known as faujdar, was placed in charge of the fort and its environs. For example, the fort of Ranthambhor was generally placed in charge of a commandant or faujdar. The faujdars were appointed by the Emperor but they were to work under the supervision of the provincial governor.¹

Next to the faujdar was the post of the thanedar. Generally the thanedars worked under the supervision of the faujdar and the faujdar was to supervise the work of the

1 For provinces, its area and revenue and the districts under each province see, Akbar the Great, Vol. II, pp. 116-118 by A.L. Srivastava.
In the 49th R.Y. Kalyan Das, Son of Raja Todar Mal was given the charge of Mt. Kalingar. A.N. III Tr. 1249 : 30 bal II P. 505. In the 47th R.Y. Jf tikhar Beg was made The faujdar of Mewat. A.N. III Tr. P 1223 : 30 bal II P. 489.

numerous police stations (thanas) established at various places in this jurisdiction in the district. The precise nature and duties of the thanedars and the extent of the control exercised over them by the local jaujdars is not clear. But it is certain that some thanedaris were of great importance and that nobles of high rank were appointed to them. On the other hand there were small thanedaris to which low mansabdars were appointed. In general it appears that mansabdars from the rank of 200 upwards were appointed as thanedars.

On the financial and purely administrative side in the province were the posts of provincial diwan, bakhshi,¹ sadr-cum qazi, mir adl, mufti, kotwal etc. Sometimes amin was also posted in a province. For example in 1575, Mir Alauddin was appointed amin of Gujarat, in 1579 Hakim Abul Faiz was appointed sadr and amin of Bengal and in 1586 Mir Turab Wali was sent to Gujarat as amin. It seems that persons above the rank of 200 were generally given such posts of administration. Of these the post of provincial diwan was of considerable importance and as he was to act as a check on the powers of the governor and his status was equal to that of the governor, generally, persons above the ranks of 500 were appointed to this post. When in 1580 the empire was divided into 12 provinces, the governor of the province was authorised to choose his diwan but from 1595 onwards Akbar himself appointed provincial diwans, probably on the

1. In the 18th A.Y. Khusrau Shiyamin Ali Bakhshi who had done well in war was made diwan and bakhshi of Gujarat and given the title of Asaf Khan and was sent with Khan-i-Azam. Masin-i-Rahimi, II p. 803.

recommendation of the wazir of the empire. Henceforward the provincial diwan ceased to be a subordinate of the governor, and held equal rank with and enjoyed the same influence as the governor, though he did not hold the same mansab. The provincial diwan acted directly under the orders of the finance minister (wazir of the empire) and he had to maintain a constant correspondence with him. Thus the provincial diwan was directly responsible for his actions to the imperial diwan or wazir and the Emperor. It was done to keep a check on the powers and ambitions of the provincial governor.¹ ✓

Akbar controlled the provincial administration in various ways. The provincial governor and the provincial diwan acted as rivals and a check upon each other. The appointment of the provincial bakshi and the provincial news-writer (waqya-nawis) made them conscious in the exercise of their powers as the latter had to keep a vigilant eye on the activities of the former two officers. The result was that all the provincial officers of the province became jealous and watchful of each others activities. The policy of checks and balances proved very effective in providing safeguards against misgovernment, oppression and abuse of powers by the officers of the provinces. Secondly, Akbar did not allow governors of the provinces to establish personal contacts with the local elements of power and influence and this was achieved by the frequent transfer

1 In the 29th A.Y. 97mad Ichan was appointed governor of Gujrat. Mir Abu Turab Amin, Khusajab Abdul Nasim - diwan and Nizamuddin Ahmad Hameer the bakshi of Tabagat - bakshi of that province. Maasir - i - Rahimi. P. 886.

of the governors from one province to another province. Akbar had seen that the Uzbek rebellion had occurred in 1566-67 as Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman and his relations had established firm local contacts in the Jaunpur region. Therefore, in September, 1568 Akbar took steps to transfer the Atgah Khail, which had acquired great influence in the Punjab to various parts of the country. Throughout the reign, ~~there~~ are innumerable cases of nobles being transferred from one province to another province, from one end of the Empire to another. The biography of almost any noble would bring out the fact that he had been posted at various times to different provinces of the empire. Generally no noble was allowed to remain in one province more than four years at a time.¹ Thirdly, Akbar invariably punished those governors who were found neglectful and inefficient, oppressive and unjust, by degrading or dismissing them according to the gravity of their fault. For example Shah Quli Khan Mahram was removed from the governorship of the Punjab on charges of maladministration and neglect of duty. Fourthly, the emperor kept himself in close touch with the provincial administration through news-writers and spies. Fifthly, an effective control on provincial and local administration was exercised by Akbar's frequent tours during which he personally listened to the grievances of the people and punished those officers who were found guilty of any kind of oppression. Finally, the

1. The longest term which we notice is that of 11 years otherwise no term is very long: Provincial Governor, under Akbar 1580-1605 A.D. an article by Afzal Husain J.H.C. Jalalpur 1970. ✓

Emperor appointed sometimes high officials to enquire ~~into~~ into the conduct of the provincial and local officers or any other high official against whom any complaint was made.

The minister's distinction lay in their office and not in their rank or grade of service. An officer of any rank could be given precedence over a minister. For example, Mirza Khan (Abdurrahim Khan Khanan) was given precedence over Shahbaz Khan, the mir bakhshi in 1582 and when the latter protested against it he was arrested and kept in custody for sometime. Therefore, Akbar could even transfer his Prime minister to work as a governor of a province and similarly he could appoint his prime minister from any rank of service and this promotion which raised him to the highest office did not entitle him to the highest rank. A minister might not necessarily hold a higher rank in state service than other officers and sometimes even the prime minister did not hold the highest mansab. In 1569, ~~he~~ transferred Prime Minister Munjm Khan to act as a governor of Jaunpur and in 1579 he transferred the Prime minister Muzaffar Khan to act as a governor of Bengal. It was a clear degradation in rank and prestige but their mansab was not reduced. Again Rajah Bhagwant Das who was the governor of a province held the mansab of 5000 where as the Prime minister Todar Mal's rank was only 4000. Rajah Man Singh was promoted to the mansab of 7000 Zat, 5000 Sawar, the

highest open to a noble, but he was never appointed to the post of Prime minister. Thus there was no direct relationship between the mansab held by a noble and the post assigned to him but a broad correspondence between the two did exist.

While nominally there was no difference between the civil and military duties of a mansabdar yet in fact civil (revenue) and military duties were often assigned to different persons according to their experience and training. For example nobles like Rajah Man Singh, Mirza Aziz Kokah, Shahbaz Khan, Rai Rai Singh, Zain Khan Kokah were often assigned military duties and no financial and revenue duty was required of them. Likewise some nobles were always assigned financial and executive duties such as Mozaffar Khan, Khwajah Shah Mansur Shirazi.

However, there are also instances of the same mansabdars serving in various departments at different times. Some high officials who were apt in the art of conversation were generally sent on diplomatic missions to the rulers of other states or countries. Shaikh Faiz-faizi, Rajah Birbat, Hakim Abul Fath, etc. were sent on such missions. Rajah Todar Mal, though was often assigned financial duties (civil) was more than once sent on military deputations.

The picture that we get of the nobility based on accounts of bribery and corruption, is not a surprising one. The nobles were ambitious and anxious to feather their own nests. Qutbuddin Khan, a great noble who was the ruler of Broach, gathered an army of fifteen thousand horse, partly from his own and partly from those of his son Naurang Khan, Governor of Champaner. This army was joined by the forces of the district of Surat Qutbuddin Khan then marched from Daman attacked the Portuguese. When all this was reported to the priests, they handed on the information to the emperor Akbar saying that they were grieved at the unprovoked attack on the Portuguese. Whereupon Akbar swore that the war had been started without his orders or knowledge. He said that Qutbuddin Khan and Shaihab Khan (another noble who helped Qutbuddin) were men of age, experience and authority and that they took upon themselves with the self-confidence of old age to initiate many enterprises of which he himself knew nothing. Moreover, he declared that he dared not reprimand them, because these enterprises always seemed to be undertaken in his own cause and for the public benefit, for the Christians were held to be the enemies of the Musalmans. Monserrate says that this reply of the ^{emperor} appeared to the priests true because these nobles hated the king on account of his fickle^{ness} (in religious matters). Moreover the Mangols are endowed with such natural sagacity that under unsettled conditions of

government they seize every opportunity for fulfilling their own ambitious schemes. At the request of the priests Akbar ordered his generals to withdraw these forces from Daman and they obeyed his orders with immediate promptness.¹

1 Monserrate's Commanterius, pp. 168-170.

CHAPTER VI

NOBLES AND ADMINISTRATION

Nobles at the Court

The court was the centre towards which the eyes of the nobles were always turned. As the appointments and promotions depended upon the will of the Emperor, the nobles usually wanted to stay at court and thereby remain near the Emperor so that jealous and envious people might not be able to do any harm or spoil their image in the eyes of the emperor. At the same time the Emperor had to govern the empire through the agency of his nobles and officers, therefore, he had to be careful that the power which he vested in them is not misused. But for obvious reasons all the nobles could not stay at court all the time, they had to go away from the court in obedience to the royal orders. Some of the nobles considered it their misfortune to be away from the court though they submitted to the royal will.¹

At the same time there were nobles who wanted to remain away from court either because they were lazy and did not want to work according to the emperor's satisfaction

1 In the 23rd R.V. Rajah Birbal was sent to Jalandhar in order that for some days he might serve at a distance and gather bliss by sympathies for helpless. Many Afghans had settled in Punjab.

- A.N. III(Tr.) p. 357.

or having some evil intentions they wanted to be away from the emperor's glance. When an officer was away from the court for a long time, the emperor naturally used to be anxious about him and ordered him to come to court to do homage. Often after paying the homage, he was allowed to go back to his old post. To do homage at court was considered to be an honour and it also exhibited the loyalty of the person.

When the Emperor came back after a victory or a long expedition to the capital, the high mansabdars used to come from different provinces to Court to prostrate and soon-after were allowed to go to their respective provinces. The idea behind was that by coming and prostrating before the Emperor, they gave proof of their loyalty and showed to the Emperor that during his absence from the capital they had harboured no evil intention and thereby satisfied the mind of the Emperor. If a particular governor was not in a position to come to court due to the circumstances prevailing in his province, he asked for excuse. The emperor generally allowed such nobles to come whenever they felt convenient and the circumstances in their province permitted them to come to court and thereby made their minds at ease. But if a high mansabdar did not come to the court on such occasions and remained in his province without excuse, it was considered to be a misconduct on the



part of the mansabdar and he was liable to be punished.

Generally, the nobles and the other officials were expected to attend the court daily.¹ If a noble absented himself for long from the court attendance, he was suspected of having evil intentions and envious and jealous persons fabricated stories against him to spoil his image.

Monserate writes "In order to prevent the great nobles becoming insolent through the unchallenged enjoyment of power, the king summons to court those whom he learns to have become enriched by the revenues of their provinces and gives them many imperious commands as though they were his slaves."²

In case a noble stayed for a long time at the court, and was not sent away on any service far off from the court, the nobles began to doubt after the king's favouritism for that noble. In the 30th R.V. Abul Fazl expressed a desire to serve at a distance to justify the position he had acquired. He says, "I was strengthened in this desire by thinking that I might be able to do good service and also

1 In one of the letters Shaikh Abul Fazl instructed his younger brother Shaikh Abul Khair to go to the court daily.

See Har-Seh-Daftar-i- Abul Fazl (Luck edu. 1299) p. 143.

2 Monserate's Commentarius, p.90.

shut the mouths of those envious persons which were gates of impropriety." The lots were cast between Abul Fazl and Rajah Birbal. The result was in Birbal's favour. Therefore, Rajah Birbal was sent to Swad (Jan. 1586 A.D.).¹

When a noble wished to perform pilgrimage to Mekkah he had to take permission from the emperor. Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam went to Mekkah without permission and when he came back, his mind was disturbed that the emperor had intentionally kept him away from the court.² In the 41st R.Y. he made a request to the Emperor Akbar to give him a jagir near the court because he wanted to serve near the court to amend his former misconduct of going to Mekkah without permission. His request was granted and he

1 A.N.III (Tr.) p. 719-20.

2 Badauni tells us that in the 38th R.Y. in accordance with the decree that all the amirs of the frontier, at the end of a certain fixed period should come to court which was a wise measure, a farman was sent to Aazm Khan, who for a period of six years had absented himself from court, ordering him to repair to court. The emperor took away from him Junagarh (the capital of Surat), which he had conquered and gave it to Rajah Man Singh. Mirza Aziz Kokah left for the Hijaz without permission instead of going to court.

was given Multan in jagir.¹

Great nobles used to come to court from the far off provinces on Nauroz (New Year Festival celebrations) to pay homage to the emperor and thereby prove their faithfulness. In one of the letters written to Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam, Abul Fazl writes, if he could not come to court on the Nauroz, he ^w could come afterwards.² It seems that it was expected from the great nobles to come to court on the Nauroz and in case they were not in a position to come they had to take permission to stay.

The mansabdars were not a stationary force as is clear from the above description. They were not expected to remain in attendance at the court always. Though a few persons were always kept near the court for some personal reasons. The author of Iqbalnamah says Darbar Khan's (a noble under Akbar) name was Mirza Inayat but he was called Darbar Khan because he was always present at court and the emperor used to listen stories from him. He was a great favourite of the emperor.³ Dastam Khan (another noble under Akbar) was always at court with the emperor except

1 A.N.III (Tr.)p.1068.

2 Har-Seh-Daftar-i-Abul Fazl (Luck.Edn. 1299)p.129.

3 A.N. II, 343,n.1.; Iqbal.

for three years. At the time of his death Akbar said that since the time of his birth he spent only three years without him and that even his mother could not feel the loss as much as he did because Dastam with the exception of three years, had never been away from him.¹ About Mirza Jani Beg of Thattah (a noble under Akbar) the author of the Zakhirat says that he always remained near the emperor.²

The mansabdars at any particular time could be divided into two groups. The tainat-i-raqab or Hazir-i-rakab were those who were posted at the court; and the tainat-i-e-subajat were those who were posted in the provinces. Those of higher grades were posted as Subedars or governors of provinces or Wardens of Marches on the Frontiers and when they were away from court on duty they were known as tainat-i-subajat. But those who were with the emperor at court in the capital or outside the capital on an expedition, were known as tainat-i-raqab.³ They had to mount guards and perform other duties which the emperor ordered. This division was based purely on the postings of the officers, who were frequently transferred from one group to another.

1. Ain.I, Bloch, p.436; A.N.III(Tr.) p. 479-80.

2 Z.K. I, pp. 179-180. ✓

3 Army of the Indian Mughals, Irwine, p.9. ✓

When high mansabdars, governor or amirs were transferred from one province to another, they were expected to present themselves at the court before proceeding to their new appointment. The purpose was to thank the emperor for the favour shown by him and to celebrate the occasion in the emperor's presence. The emperor also utilized the opportunity, thus given to him to give instructions to the noble about the management of the new province. After receiving the instructions, he was allowed to proceed to the new appointment.

But in case the transfer was made due to some fault committed by the noble's he was not permitted to come to court. Only when he satisfied the mind of the emperor in the new appointment by his good service, he was allowed to come to court. ✓

The nobles could not come to court of their own free will. When a noble cherished a desire to see the emperor or to come to court owing to some other reasons, he was to send a petition to court, asking for permission to come.¹

1 When in the 30th R.Y. (1585-86 A.D.) Sadiq Khan came from Bengal without being summoned, he was not granted audience.

A.N. Vol.III(Tr.) p.699;

In 1574 A.D. it was brought to the royal hearing that Khan-i-Alam in reliance on the royal favour and clemency had come to court without obtaining a written permission from the Khan-i-Khanan, Munim Khan. As the observance of orders was a necessary part of rule, a rebuke was issued by the emperor and he was ordered off. A number

The petition was not always accepted. If the emperor thought that the noble's presence was essential in the province where he was serving, he did not permit him to come. Sometimes when the emperor found that the noble was very anxious to come to court and had an earnest desire to see him or he wanted to take the emperor's counsel on some important policy matters, he appointed another officer to take charge of the affairs and allowed the former officer to come to court. If an officer left his post to come to court without permission, he was liable to be punished and dismissed from his post. ✓

There was no hard and fast rule to divide the nobles into tainat-i-raqab or tainat-i-Subajat. The division was purely informal. But a number of factors were borne out by the emperor when he divided the nobles into these two groups. Those who possessed martial qualities, organising capacity and administrative abilities were posted in different parts of the empire and were not recalled to the court unless their presence was absolutely necessary. The nobles present at court were considered to ✓

contd..

of right thinking persons represented to the emperor that he had left his family in the camp and that for urgent business he had come rapidly and humbly to court. His Majesty received their explanations and allowed him an interview. He gained his wish and had permission to return.

A.N. Vol.III(Tr.) pp. 147-148.

be a reserve force and could be employed by the emperor at any time to lead an expedition. Consequently, military commanders of high rank and ability, having qualities of fine generalship, shrewdness and high diplomatic skill were often kept at the court to be available to the emperor for any military enterprise required. Some of the boon companions whose separation, the emperor could not tolerate also remained at the court near the emperor. Such persons always or most of the time remained at court with the emperor whether he was in the capital or away on an expedition. They used to be witty and ~~numerous~~ persons whose presence in the court was like a blooming flower in the garden. The nobles like Rajah Birbal, Darbar Khan, Dastam Khan mentioned above come in this category. The emperor found pleasure in their company and used to enjoy himself with their wits and jokes. Darbar Khan was a story-teller who used to tell stories to Akbar. His father was a story teller in the court of Shah of Persia.¹ Rajah Birbal, another noble was a witty and jolly person who remained at court with the emperor and always entertained him with his humours.² His wits became so famous

1 A.N. Vol.II (Tr.) pp.³⁴³⁻344; AIN I Block P.517

2 Some scholars wrongly think that he was a mere courtier and held no post in the Mughal court. He was a noble of great merit and had a mansab of 2000. ✓ He was once appointed as a commander of a reinforcement sent to the North-west Frontier and died in the campaign. ✓ Twice he was sent as an envoy on a diplomatic mission. ✓

that they have come down to posterity. Shaikh Abul Fazl, a great noble, was also an intimate friend of the emperor and generally remained at court with the emperor. Once he was appointed in the Deccan and was murdered on the way when he was coming back to court. Naturally the nobles who always remained at court and enjoyed the confidence of the emperor became an eye-sore to the other nobles who always intrigued to separate them from the emperor and send them away from court.

This was also in the interests of the empire and the well being of the emperor to keep a large force, having competent generals present at court. It minimised the danger of a coup d'etat by a powerful general. The measure was essential for the security of the country and depicts the vigilance exercised by Akbar.

Court Etiquette

" When His Majesty seats himself on the throne, all that are present perform the kornish, and then remain standing at their places according to their rank, with their arms crossed, partaking, in the light of his imperial countenance, of the elixir of life and enjoying everlasting happiness in standing ready for service. The eldest prince places himself when standing, at a distance of one to four yards from the throne, or when sitting, at

a distance from two to eight. The second prince stands from one and one-half to six yards from the throne and in sitting from three to twelve. So also the third; but sometimes he is admitted to a nearer position than the second prince and at other times both stand together at the same distance. But His Majesty generally places the younger princes nearer. Then come the Elect of the highest rank, who are worthy of the spiritual guidance of His Majesty, at a distance of three to fifteen yards, and in sitting from five to twenty. After this follow the senior grandees from three and a half yards and then the other grandees, from ten or twelve and a half yards from the throne. All other stands in the yasal. One or two attendants stand nearer than all."¹ ✓

When Bairam Khan came to court in 1560 A.D. to submit, he was asked to sit on the right hand of the emperor as was the custom when he was the Wakil or the Prime Minister. Munim Khan, the new Wakil was asked to sit beside him. The other officers were asked to take their places according to their ranks.²

¹ Ain I, Bloch, Tr. pp. 168-169. Yasal signifies the wing of an army and here the two wings in which the assembly is divided. The place before the throne remains free. One wing was generally occupied by the grandees of the court and the chief functionaries; on the other wing stood the Qur, the Mullas and the Ulema etc. p. 169.n.1. ✓

² A.N. II. (Tr.) p.181. ✓

When at court, the nobles had to appear twice a day-morning and evening, before the emperor. Sometimes a noble was exempted from this duty on the ground of illness or due to some urgent private business. When a Prince was given the charge of a campaign, the nobles were expected to appear at court before the prince daily. In the audience hall or diwan-i-am and on ceremonial occasions, certain rules and regulations were strictly observed for placing the nobles in their proper order of precedence. Different rows were fixed for the nobles of different ranks and status and every noble had to stand at his appointed place.

During the proceedings of the darbar no noble was permitted to sit. Once the emperor had taken his place on the throne, no-one was permitted to leave his position without the emperor's permission. No one was allowed to present a petition to the emperor directly. Except with the permission of the emperor, no one could come armed in the darbar or to the emperor's private audience, diwan-i-khas. Everybody was expected to come on foot to the darbar. No one could enter the court on horse. When Shah Abul Maali came to the court on horse and wished the emperor, sitting on the horse-back, it was considered a breach of court etiquette and he was sent to prison. It is clear that the rules and regulations to be observed at court were strictly

enforced and the breach of court etiquette or any misconduct in the court was punished.

No one could come in a drunken state to the court, and call abuses or use filthy language in the court. In 1571 A.D. Lashkar Khan, who held the posts of Mir Bakshi and Mir Arz and was a noble of great eminence came in day time to the court drunken and made a disturbance. He was caused to be let round and tied to a horse's tale,¹ and then sent to prison. Shahbaz Khan Kambu was then made Mir Bakshi and Mir Arz. Afterwards he was forgiven and released at the intercession of favourites, and again taken in favour. It was forbidden to come in a Palki (palanquin) within the gulal-bar or the enclosure of the Emperor's residence.

The most important duty which the mansabdars had to perform when at court was mounting guard (chauki) at the Palace. The practice was started by Akbar. Travernier says,

1 A.N. vol. II (Tr.) pp. 529-30; In the 17th R.Y. when Shahbaz Khan, who was the Amir Tozak, was engaged in arranging the procession, Baba Khan Qaqshal behaved rudely to Shahbaz Khan and when Akbar learnt about this, he ordered Baba Khan to be severely punished.

A.N. II (Tr.) p. 538.

says," The first court is, as I have elsewhere said, it is that the Omarahs (nobles) stay while they are on guard. For it should be remarked that one of the Omarahs mounts guard every week. He disposes, both in the court, as also about the Emperor's palace or tent when he is in the field, the cavalry under his command, and many elephants. The best of these Omarahs command 2,000 horses, but when a prince of the blood royal is on guard, he command upto 6,000."¹ ✓

Abul Fazl gives detailed rules and regulations about mounting guard. He says," There are three kinds of guards. The four division of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy mansabdar. Another fully acquainted with all ceremonies at court is appointed as Mir Arz. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the Mir Arz, and the Commander of the Palace). They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders, His Majesty may issue."² ✓ It means the mansabdar who mounted guard was called commander of the Palace and he was expected

1 Tavernier, I, pp. 302-3.

2 Ain I Bloch (Tr.) p. 267.

to be acquainted with all ceremonies at court.

Akbar himself generally inspected the guards. In the evening, the Imperial Qur¹ was used to be taken to the State Hall. The mounting guards stood on the right; the ranks of the guards to be relieved were drawn up on the other side. Akbar took notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers. Both ranks then saluted the emperor.² When the emperor himself was busy in important affairs of the state and could not spare time to inspect the guards, he used to send one of the princes to inspect the guards. Akbar paid much attention to the guards. If anyone remained absent without having a proper excuse, or from laziness, he was fined one week's pay, or received a suitable reprimand. The object behind was to teach the soldiers their duties and to keep the army efficient. The imperial army had been divided into twelve parts, each of which mounted guard for the space of one month. This gives all troops, whether near or far, an opportunity to come to court³ and to partake of the

1 Ain I, Bloch (Tr.)p.116.

2 Ibid., p. 267.

3 Abul Fazl says that out of the 12 divisions of the army, one was selected in turn to come to court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty.
-Ain I, Bloch (Tr.)p.268.

liberality of His Majesty. But those who were stationed at the frontiers or sent off for any important duty, merely sent the reports of their exact condition and continued to perform His Majesty's special orders. On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on the weekly parades and are then distinguished by royal marks of favour, " says Abul Fazl.¹ ✓

Travernier makes it clear that the high mansabdars mounted guards for one week. He says, "The principal nobles mount guard on every Monday, each in his turn, and they are not relieved before the end of the week. Some of these nobles command 5000, or 6000 horses and encamp under their tents around the town."² ✓

Then there were other customs and traditions which the nobles had to follow. When the emperor returned after settling the affairs of a province or appointing officers of a newly conquered territory, the great nobles and officers of the province accompanied the emperor to a few stages and then took leave from the emperor to go back to their charge. Even if a prince was given the charge of the

1 Ain I. Bloch(Tr.) pp. 267-268.

2 Travernier, I, p.126.

province, he had to follow the same tradition and accompany the emperor to the few stages.

Similarly when the emperor left the capital for a campaign or on an expedition, the nobles in charge of the capital accompanied the emperor to a few stages to see him off and then took leave to go back to the capital.

When the emperor returned to the capital, the great nobles went forward ~~to~~ a few stages from the capital to welcome the emperor.¹ In the 18th R.Y. (1573 A.D.) Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Khwajah Jahan came to Basawar from the capital to welcome Akbar who was returning from Gujarat after the second expedition to that place.² The high nobles and governors from the far off provinces too used to come and report about the affairs of their provinces in His absence and to congratulate the emperor on the success of the expedition.

Sometimes when a great noble took permission from the emperor to proceed to his appointment, the emperor himself went off a few stages to see off the nobles after giving them instructions. It seems that this honour was given only to the nobles of the rank of 5000 and above.³

1 A.N. II, p. 356.

2 A.N. III(Tr.)p.91.

3 A.N. II, p. 290,n.

When Munim Khan, Khan-i-khanan(mansabdar of 5000) left for Kabul, Akbar and some other nobles came from Agra with him to Sikandara and bade him good-bye.¹

At the time of departure, sometimes the Emperor presented horses and robes of honour (khilats') to the persons who were departing, Bayazid tells us that he was given a horse and a robe of honour.²

When Shaikh Abul Fazl(mansabdar of 5000) proceeded to Nasik (his appointment) Prince Sultan Daniyal came to the first stages to see him off and gave him a ^{special} ~~danger~~ and a noted ~~elephant~~ of honour.³

As the emperor himself could not go everywhere sometimes he sent the royal insignia to inspire the nobles. When Akbar went against Ali Quli, Khan-i-Zaman in Bihar reaching Jaunpur, he sent Asaf Khan, Majnun Khan and Shah Mohammad Qandahari against the rebels and sent the royal insignia (Qur Badshahi)⁴ in charge of Wazir Jamil so that the officers might be able to perform kornish and pay their due respects and be jealous in service.⁵

1 Bayazid, p. 254 ✓

2 Ibid. pp 303, 307 ✓

3 A.N. III Tr. p. 1201

4 See Ain I, Bloch(Tr.)p.50 n.4.

5 A.N. Vol.II,p.380(Trn.)

When the emperor went to a particular province at the request of the governor of that province, it was a custom that the governor should go forward from his station to welcome the emperor.¹ Sometimes he sent another high noble much in advance to himself. When the emperor Akbar came to the eastern provinces in 1574 A.D., and reached sherpur, Rajah Todar Mal came from the siege and did homage to the emperor. He reported on the state of the army and asked for His orders about the coming of Munim Khan, Khan-i-khanan (the governor of the province of Bihar) as an istiqbal (coming to welcome) and as to how far he should come. The order was that as the sieze was going on, he should not come further than two kos (four miles) and that the other officers should remain at their posts in the entrenchments. At the same night the Rajah got leave to go back.² It seems that in peace conditions, the governor was expected to come more than two kos in advance for the emperor's istiqbal.

Many ceremonies of the court were considered to be royal prerogatives which except the emperor nobody could perform. One of these prerogatives was the holding of elephant-fights. No noble or officer could hold elephant-

1 A.N. Vol. III (Tr.) p. 135.

2 A.N. Vol. III (Tr.) p. 133.

fights. Similarly, the emperor alone could confer titles and distinctions upon his officers. If anybody else did this, it was considered to be an act of rebellion.¹ After a victory the emperor alone could offer thanks to God and nobody else could perform the thanks giving ceremony. In 1561 A.D., after the conquest of Malwa, Adham Khan, son of Maham Angah, personally returned thanks to God and performed the rites of thanks-giving (distribution of alms etc.) to the extent of his ability. In order to gratify the imperial officers he held a great feast and made presents according to his own pleasures to all the servants who were in his company.² This was the exercise of the royal prerogative and Akbar himself went to Malwa to punish Adham Khan for several of his rebellious acts.

The real object of these detailed rules of court etiquette was to impress upon the nobles the magnitude of the imperial prestige and authority and to keep them in awe. Today all this paraphernalia may seem ridiculous and absurd but in the medieval ages it was essential to keep the outward show of strength. It was the policy of the emperor to maintain these pomp and show as jealousy as possible, so that the nobles realize, that, however great and powerful they might be, they were nothing when compared

1 In the Bengal rebellion (1580-83 A.D.), the officers conferred titles and distinctions. AN. III, Tr. PP 449-450

2 A.N. Vol.II(Tr.)pp. 214-15.

with the emperor and that their authority, power and greatness depended entirely on the sweet will of the emperor. At the same time he also wanted to impress the common people that they may realise that even the great amirs and officers were merely his servants and that the loyalty of His subjects was commanded by him alone. Finally, Akbar wanted to impress the foreign rulers of Central Asia, and Persia with the grandeur of the court.

Honours and Titles

Honours and distinctions were conferred on the nobles, the officers and the mansabdars from time to time. These honours often served as an incentive for good service and the officers put forth their best efforts. Among the marks of honour bestowed by Akbar, the most important were titles, robes of honour, standards, kettle-drums and presents such as horses, elephants, jewelled daggers, waist-belt (kamar) etc.

In the time of the emperor Humayun the highest title was that of 'Tarkhan'.¹ It was given to one Maulana Nuruddin Mohammad. It is important to note that though he had

1 Tarkhan was a Mughal title which was hereditary for nine generations and carried with it extraordinary privileges (Ain. I, Bloch, p.364). By these verses it would appear that Nuruddin Mohammed Tarkhan claimed ~~that~~ to be a Tarkhan by hereditary right, whereas Akbar first conferred on him the title of Khan and then that of Tarkhan, the latter, however, being merely an honorary title, without any of the substantial privileges formerly

the highest title, he did not hold the highest office of the empire. Maulana Nuruddin Mohammed continued to enjoy the title of Tarkhan even in Akbar's reign. It shows that Akbar confirmed the nobles in their titles which they enjoyed in his father's reign.¹ In the account of 1578-79, Abul Fazl tells us that Sultan Khwajah was made a Tarkhan and appointed to the office of Sadr. The author of Iqbalnamah says that in the 23rd R.Y. (1578-79 A.D.) of Akbar's reign, Sultan Khwajah came from the journey and the emperor gave him the mansab (office) of Sadr and the honour of Tarkhan.² ✓ Mirza Jani Beg and his son Mirza Ghazi Beg who were nobles under Akbar had the titles of Tarkhan.³ ✓

(contd..)

attached to it. The same was the case with his earlier title of Khan. M.T.Vol.III(Haig Tr.)p.275,n.1 and pp. 218-19,note 5. It is probable that Akbar first took away the previous titles conferred upon by his father and then he himself granted the same titles held by them previously. ✓

2. Iqbal II, p.326; A.N.III(Tr.) p.382.

1. "All the signors of Sirdars (Siran-u-Sirdaran), all the generals and generalissimas, and the other pillars of the empire and eyes of sovereignty, gave their allegiance to that lofty-lineaged (Akbar) one from the bottom of their hearts and with a sincere conscience and ratified the compact and loyalty by an Oath to God." Says Abul Fazl, A.N.II(Tr.)p.9.

3 Jahangir writes that Tarkhan was a hereditary title and Mirza Ghazi Beg was of the ruling family of Thattah of the tribe of Tarkhani. Tuzuk, p.223, Abul Fazl says that Mirza Jani Beg of Thattah and his son Mirza Ghazi Beg both had titles of Tarkhan. (Both were nobles under Akbar) A.N. III(Tr.)p. 1257; Maasir I (Tr.) pp. 582-83.

The highest title in the time of Akbar was that of Khan-i-Khanan. Bairam Khan held this title in emperor Mumayun's reign and emperor Akbar confirmed him in this title. He was the first person to receive this title in the time of Akbar. He was also given the highest office of the empire viz., Wakil-us-Sultanate. "The binding and loosing of the affairs of the Caliphate, the gathering and despatching of the armies of victory were committed to him."¹

In 1560 A.D. when Bairam Khan was dismissed from his office, the title of Khan-i-khanan was given to Munim Khan and he too was appointed to the highest office of Wakil-us-Sultanate. After his death in 1575 A.D. nobody was given this title for sometime and the title of Khan-i-Khanan remained in abeyance. Perhaps Akbar found no person suitable to be honoured with this title.

^dAbur Rahim, son of Bairam Khan was given the title of Mirza Khan in the beginning. In 1584 A.D. he was given the high title of Khan-i-khanan and this title he continued to hold till his death in Emperor Jahangir's reign. Thus only three persons enjoyed the title of Khan-i-Khanan in the reign of Akbar.

¹ A.N. Vol.II(Tr.) p.9.

The analysis of the history of Akbar's reign brings to light certain ~~increasing~~ interesting features regarding the conferment of the title of Khan-i-Khanan. Firstly, it was generally bestowed on the highest dignitary of the realm and numerous privileges were associated with it. It carried with it the privilege of standard, drums, tumantagh and the honorific title of Amir-ul-Umrah.¹

Secondly, it could be held only by one person at a time and once conferred neither it could be taken back nor it could be conferred on anybody else till the death of the holder. The only way to take it back was to dismiss the holder as was done in the case of Bairam Khan . Otherwise the holder was free to enjoy it life long.

Thirdly, the hereditary relations were not of so much importance, as the personal ~~breavery~~, courage and truthful service of the noble for the conferment of this title. Bairam Khan was though a khanazad (his ancestors ~~being the servants of the Mughal empire~~), his father did

1 Jahangir says when he conferred the title of Amir-ul-Umarah on Mohammad Sharif, son of Khwajah Abdus Samad in the 1st R.Y. (1605 -6 A.D.) that "I conferred upon him the lofty title of Amir-ul-Umarah to which no title of my servants is superior. He is at once ~~my~~ my brother, my friend, my son, my companion, when he came back I felt as if I had received new life. I am now emperor, but consider no title sufficiently high to reward him for his excellent qualities, though I can do no more than make him Amir-ul-Umarah and a commander of 5000. My father never did more."

-Tuzuk I, p.14; Ain I, Bloch, p.583.

not hold any important office. It was by virtue of his own long and faithful service that he was made the ataliq (guardian) of Prince Akbar and given the title of Khan-i-Khanan in Humayun's reign.¹ Munim Khan was not a Khanazad but a trustful amir of Humayun and the ataliq of Mirza Hakim, the younger brother of Akbar.²

Abdurrahim was though a Khanazad, it was for his personal bravery in the Gujarat campaign that he was given the title of Khan-i-Khanan. In 1584 A.D. Akbar conferred this title on Abdurrahim and gave him the rank of 5000.³ Earlier Akbar had honoured him with the title of Mirza Khan and married him to Mah Bano Begam, sister of Khan-i-Azam. ~~(In 1576 - A.D. (984 A.H.)~~ In 1576 - A.D. (984 A.H.) he was appointed to Gujarat. In the 25th R.Y. (1580 - A.D.⁴) he was promoted to the office of Mir Arz and three years later, he was appointed ataliq (guardian) of Prince Sultan Salim. Shortly after he was sent to suppress the rebellion of Muzaffar Gujarati who had seized the imperial treasures and raised an army of 40,000 troops. As Abdurrahim had only 10,000 troops under his command, he was advised by his

1 Madin-i-Akbar-i-Ahmadi by Ahmad, No 83 Rotograph Departmental Library ALIGARH P.148b. ✓

2 MUNIM KHAN KHAN-I-KHANAN, 1497-1575 by ISTADAR ALAM KHAN P.21

3 A.N.III.(Tr.)p.643;M.T. II, (Lowe) p.52; Ain I, Bloch, p. 355.

4. A.N.III Tr. P.439.

officers to wait for the arrival of reinforcements from Malwa but Daulat Khan Lodi, Mir Shamshir reminded him "not to spoil his laurels and claims to Khan-i-Khananship". This was enough to spur him into action. Abdurrahim instantly attacked Muzaffar Gujarati and defeated him in the battle of Sarkhej. On the arrival of reinforcements from Malwa he again defeated him near Nadot and put him to flight. Akbar was immensely pleased with his achievements and thereupon raised him to the rank of 5000 and gave him the high title of Khan-i-Khanan. Thus it is clear that the award of this title depended upon proofs of merit, courage and capacity to handle affairs in difficult situations. Incidentally, it may be mentioned here, that all the three persons on whom the title was ~~confered~~ had previously served as ataligs of the princes and given proof of their loyalty and had also served as commanders of the imperial forces and thus held important positions in the Mughal Court. At the time of conferment of this great title, overall achievements and contributions of the person were minutely scrutinised. ✓

Fourthly, the ~~title~~ of Khan-i-Khanan was not indicative of the highest office. It was a matter of chance that Bairam Khan and Munim Khan who enjoyed this title, also held the highest office of Wakil. Abdurrahim was given the title of Khan-i-Khanan but ~~w~~ he was not given the highest

office.¹ Even the office of Wazir was never given to him. In fact no important appointment of office was made to him. Afterwards in the end of the reign, some of the nobles rose to the rank of 7000 but Abdurrahim remained the mansabdar of 5000 and he continued to enjoy the title of Khan-i-Khanan. It seems that after he had received the title of Khan-i-Khanan, he became reluctant in the exercise of his duties and did nothing so chivalrous ~~and~~ that his mansab could be raised.

Fifthly, the titles could be conferred only on imperial servants and officers. When in 1564 A.D. the ambassador of Shah Tahmasp of Persia arrived in Akbar's court, he begged that Sultan Mahmud of Bhakhar might obtain Khanlar Khani, i.e. of Khan-i-Khanan but Akbar turned down his request on the ground that 'as there were officers greater than he, who, from knowing their position and from perceiving the nature of their predecessors, had not asked for this appointment'.² When Sultan Mahmud failed in this attempt, he sent much gold as a present to the Shah of Persia through the ambassador, with the idea that perhaps by his recommendations to Akbar, he might succeed in the

1 Though Akbar did not always appointed Wakil and the office of Wakil was often held vacant and the duties of Wakalat were performed by the emperor himself.

2 A.N.Vol.II (Tr.)p.358.

fulfilment of his desire. The Shah made recommendations to Akbar but Akbar who appreciated merit and justice, did not agree and consequently the request of the Shah was declined.

Abul Fazl says that the currency required was merit, not recommendation especially when a person like Munim Khan held this office, Akbar could not do injustice with him. The reasons for not conferring this title on the ambassador were many. Firstly- this title was already held by Munim Khan and Akbar could not confer the same title on another person during the lifetime of its holder. Secondly, the conferment of the same title on another person would have created complications, both political and administrative. There was no justification for granting a title to a person who was not in the imperial service and had no record of loyal service at the Mughal Court and conferment of so great a title on a foreigner must have annoyed the old and faithful officers of the Mughal Court who had long served the Mughal emperors in the hope of getting this title. Had Akbar granted the title to the ambassador, it would have given rise to a political crisis. Thirdly, the title carried with it certain privileges and the conferment of the title on the ambassador would have been an encroachment on the privileges of Munim Khan and ~~the~~ must have felt disgruntled. ✓

Dr. Radhey Shyam thinks that granting a title to a person who was not in the Mughal service but in the service of Shah Tahmasp, the ruler of Persia, would have been considered as an encroachment upon the rights of another sovereign.¹ In my opinion, Shah of Persia was corrupted by gold and he himself made recommendation to Akbar to confer the above title on the ambassador. It would not have been considered an encroachment on the rights of another sovereign, when the sovereign himself made the request. On the contrary, he must have felt humiliated when Akbar declined his request. Further it is possible that had Akbar granted him the title of Khan-i-Khanan, he might have joined Akbar's service. Otherwise the grant of the title by Akbar had no meaning. In fact the recommendation for the grant of the title by the Shah of Persia meant that he should be allowed to join the Mughal service and given the highest position. ✓

Finally, there was no practice of conferring titles on ambassadors, Akbar respected the old practices which were ✓

1 See Dr. Radhey Shyam's article 'Honours, ranks, titles under the Great Mughals', Journal of Islamic Culture, Oct. 1973, pp. 335-353.

useful, he very cleverly declined the request of the Shah and dismissed the emperor.¹

Next in importance was the title of Khan-i-Aazm. It was conferred upon Shamsuddin Khan Atgah, who was the foster-father of Akbar. It was almost equal in prestige to the title of Khan-i-Khanan. When Bairam was given the title of Khan-i-Khanan, there was no other noble who could be his rival in power. After the dismissal of Bairam Khan, Munim Khan was made the Khan-i-Khanan and was given the post of Wakil. To put a check on his growing power, Akbar raised Shamsuddin Atgah Khan to almost equal status. He received the Fathu dress of Bairam Khan, a robe of honour, an Iraqi horse and the title of Khan-i-A'azam (or Aazam Khan). After his death, the title of Khan-i-Aazam was given to Mirza Aziz Kokah, son of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan. He continued to hold this title till his death in the reign of Jahangir. Thus only two persons received this title in Akbar's reign. After the organisation of the mansabdari

1 No doubt the Shah himself had made the ~~request~~ recommendation but he might have done so under pressure of Sultan Mahmud of Bhakhar and to please his own ambassador. Had Akbar granted him the title of Khan-i-Khanan, he would have joined Akbar's service. Then it would have been considered by the Shah that Akbar is attracting his officers by giving them coveted offices. Akbar was wise enough and he cleverly declined to abide by and then give rise to speculations. ~

The Shah of Persia conferred the Title of Khan on Bairam Beg in Persia when Humayun was there.

system, the mansab determined the position of a noble in the official hierarchy and not the title of the noble. Mirza Aziz Kokah became a mansabdar of 7,000 and had the title of Khan-i-Aazm whereas Abdurrahim had a mansab of 5,000 and had the ~~xxxx~~ title of Khan-i-Khanan. The status of Mirza Aziz Kokah was higher than that of Abdurrahim though the latter enjoyed the highest title of the empire.

Other important titles having the suffix of Khan prevalent under Akbar were those of Khan-i-Jahan, Khwajah-i-Jahan, Khan-i-Aalam, Khan-i-Dauran, Shujaat Khan, Sadiq Khan, Muzaffar Khan, Afzal Khan, Tatar Khan, Lashkar Khan, Shahbaz Khan, Mihtar Khan, Asaf Khan, Mirza Khan, Murtaza Khan, Nageeb Khan, Inayat Khan.¹

In the Sultanate period, the ranking of the nobility in the ascending order was Malik, Amir and Khan. Under the Mughals, the title of Malik fell out of favour. The title of Beg which symbolised a great honour under Babar and Humayun fell out of favour in the reign of Akbar.² In fact

1 In the 22nd R.Y. Shaikh Farid got the title of Muztaza Khan. Iqbal II, p.318. In the 18th R.Y. Abdurrahim got the title of Mirza Khan; Khwajah Mir Ghiyasuddin Ali Akhund had the title of Nageeb Khan, Khwajah Ghiyasuddin Ali Bakshi had the title of Asaf Khan and Shah Fakhruddin Mashhadi had the title of Inayat Khan, Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I, pp. 794-797.

2 Abrol says that in the reign of Babar, amirs were called Beks. NOBILITY UNDER BABUR AND HUMAYUN By P.K. ABROL.

Beg became a title inferior to that of Khan in Hindustan and Beglar-beg was deemed to be lower than the title of Khan-i-Khanan.

In the reign of Akbar nobody below the rank of 500 could be called an amir (noble) and nobody below the rank of 1000 could be given the title of Khan. The title of Khan deemed to be very prestigious. There were several categories of its holders (a) those who only enjoyed the title of Khan, (b) those enjoying the title of Khan together with the rank of 1000, (c) having the suffix of Khan with the honour of a flag, (d) those enjoying the title (like Lashkar Khan etc.) having the suffix of Khan with higher mansabs.¹

In the reign of Akbar, Takhta Beg Kabuli was in the 40th R.Y., an amir of the rank of 700.² In the 49th R.Y. he was given the title of Khan and raised to the rank of Khanship.³ In the first R.Y. of Jahangir, he was raised from the mansab of 2,500 to 3000 and was given the title of Sardar Khan.⁴

1 See the article 'Honours, ranks and titles under the Great Mughals' by Dr. Radhey Shyam, J.I. (Dec. 1973).

2 Ain I, Bloch, p. 523; T.A. II, p. 682 (B. De).

3 A.N. III (Tr.) p. 1247; Ain I, Bloch, p. 523; Iqbal II, p. 504.

4 Tuzuk, I, pp. 31, 71, 76; Ain I Bloch, p. 523.

The title of Khan appears to be higher than that of Sultan. Jan Mohammad Sultan Bahasudi, after the victory over Bairam Khan was recommended for the title of Khan and he received the same in the 5th R.Y. (1569-61 A.D.).¹

It may be pointed out that after the conferment of the title, a person was known by his title and not by his original name. If he received a fresh title, he was known by the latest title and not by the old title. For example, when Abdurrahim was given the title of Mirza Khan, he became famous as Mirza Khan and is referred to as Mirza Khan in the contemporary accounts but when he got the title of Khan-i-Khanan, he was known as Khan-i-Khanan.² Further no two nobles could have the same title at the same time, though many of the titles were given after the death of its holders.

While conferring the title of Khan due regard was paid to the lineage of the grantee, his length and record of service and his nationality. Great care was exercised lest a person who had not reached the requisite status be given the title of Khan. An element of hereditary is found

1 A.N.II (Tr.) p.184.

2 Thus a title once conferred served officially as the name of the noble concerned.

in the award of the titles. If one of the sons of a deceased noble attained to eminence, he was generally awarded his father's title in course of time. In Akbar's reign we find Abdurrahim received his father's title of Khan-i-Khanan; Mirza Aziz Kokah received his father's title of Khan-i-Aazm though he was the younger son; Zahid received his father's title of Sadiq Khan. The son of the deceased noble was the first claimant to his father's title, if he distinguished himself and proved himself worthy of the title. Therefore the sons of the great nobles strove hard to receive their father's titles. It also served as an incentive to work hard. Other nobles also tried their best to receive the titles which were previously held by great nobles.

A number of titles were reserved for different persons and nationalities, while some titles were reserved for persons of different professions. Foster-brothers were known as Kokah and they also enjoyed special privileges and honours, Mirza Aziz Kokah, Adham Khan Kokah, Zain Khan Kokah, Saif Khan Kokah, Saadat Yar (Kokah), Yusuf Mohammad Khan Kokah etc. can be mentioned in this category. The princes of the royal blood enjoyed the title of Sultan. For example, Prince Sultan Salim, Prince Sultan Murad, Prince Sultan Daniyal, Prince Sultan Khusrau, Quraish Sultan

(ruler of Kashghar) etc. Then in the order of precedence was the title of Mirza. Members of the royal families bore the title of Mirza. For example, the nobles having the title of Mirza under Akbar were Mirza Sulaiman; Mirza Shahrukh, his son; Mozaffar Husain Mirza Safawi; Mirza Rustam Safawi etc. While Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Shahrukh were Turani nobles, Mirza Muzaffar Husain and Mirza Rustam were Irani nobles.¹ ✓

The title of Jumlat-ul-mulk was associated with the department of Wizarat.² It was conferred on Muzaffar Khan Turbati in 1573 A.D.,³ and it was connected with the office Diwani (Wizarat) and Wikalat. But he could enjoy this title only for a short time, because by some of his actions, he incurred the displeasure of the emperor and the latter deprived him of his office and his title.⁴ ✓

The title of Asaf Khan was purely Iranian in origin and it was also connected with the office of Diwani and Wikalat. It was conferred only on Iranian nobles. Asif was the name of the Wazir of Solomon and hence the title

1 See the article 'Honours, Titles and Ranks under the Great Mughals by Dr. Radhey Shyam. ✓

2 M.T. II, p.36.

3 M.T. II, p.36; M.U.II (Tr.)p.361. Masir - i - Rahimi. II p.805.

4 Ain I (Tr.) Bloch, pp. 395-98; M.U.I, p. 38. ✓

seems to have been derived from there.¹ The title of Asaf Khan was first conferred on Khwajah Abdul Majeed (Irani) in 1560 A.D. when he was appointed Sharif-i-Diwani.² He enjoyed the title till his death in 1573-74 A.D. After the death of Asaf Khan I, the title was conferred on Ghiyasuddin Ali (Irani) who became known as Asaf Khan II, ^{After the death of Asaf Khan I} the title was conferred on Mirza Jafar (Irani) and he was Asaf Khan III. He was the nephew of Ghiyasuddin Ali Asaf Khan II. He continued to hold this title in the reign of Jahangir. Thus three persons enjoyed the title of Asaf Khan in Akbar's reign.

The title of Ashraf Khan was conferred on Mir Munshi Mohammad Asghar (Irani) in the 6th R.Y. After his death the title of Ashraf Khan was granted to Mir Abu Turab (Irani) in the 48th R.Y. Thus the titles of Asaf Khan and Ashraf Khan appears to have been reserved for the Iranians. The title of Khan-i-Aalam was conferred thrice on three different persons during the reign of Akbar. In 1556 A.D. it was conferred on Iskandar (Sikandar) Beg Uzbek (Turani)³; in 1564 A.D., on Qalma Khan⁴ (Turani) and in 1580 A.D. on Jan Mohammad Behsudi⁵ (Turani). It appears that the

1 'Honours, Titles, Ranks under the Great Mughals' by Dr. Radhey Shyam, p.345.

2 A.N. Vol.II(Tr.)pp. 168-69.

3 A.N. vol II (Tr.) p.71.

4 A.N.II(Tr.)p.343.

5 A.N. III (Tr.) p. 449

title of Khan-i-Aalam was conferred on the Turanis alone.

Then there were titles which were reserved for the Hindu nobles such as the titles of Rajah, Rai, Rai Rayan, Rajah Bikramajit, Kaviraj etc. State regulations with regard to conferment of titles and ranks for the Hindus and the Muslims were the same. On the death of a Hindu Rajah it was the exclusive prerogative of the Mughal emperor to put the tikka and confer the title of Rajah on the successor of the deceased noble. The title of Rajah and the rank of 5000 were conferred by Akbar on Kunwar Man Singh after the death of his father Rajah Bhagwan Das in 1589 A.D. The same title was conferred on Salibahan but on different grounds. Salibahan was the head of the artillery department and had excelled as gunner. On account of his long service and merits, he was honoured with the title of Rajah.^{1a} Kunwar Man Singh got the title on the ground of hereditary while Salbahan got the title on the basis of meritorious services. Rai Singh of Bikanir got the title of Rai from Akbar.^{1b} The title of Rai Rayan, which was a prestigious title was conferred on Patra Das² and he was later honoured with the title of Rajah Bikramajit.³ In the

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1a. A. N. III (Tr.) P. 1223.

1b. Ain I. Bloch, PP. 384-86; A. N. II. (Tr.) P. 518;

After the death of Rai Rai Singh, his son Dalpat got the title of Rai in Jahangir's reign. M. U. II. Tr. PP. 570.71; Tuzuk, Tr. I, PP. 217-18.

2. Iqbal II. P. 500; Z. K. I, P. 238; Ain I, Bloch. P. 523; M. U. I (Tr.) P. 411

3. Iqbal, II. P. 500; Ain. I, Bloch. P. 524; M. U. I. (Tr) P. 412; A. N. III (Tr) P. 1239

life time of Rajah Bhagwan Das, his son was known as Kunwar Man Singh and after his father's death, he got the title of Rajah and came to be known as Rajah Man Singh. Similarly Rai Singh after his father Rai Kalyan Mal (of Bikaner)'s death received the title of Rai and came to be known as Rai Rai Singh. ✓

Rajah Birbal had the title of Rajah Birbal by which name he became popular. His original name was Kaviraj.¹ Kaviraj too seems to be his title. His original name was Mahesh Das according to Blochmann.² But Badaoni says that his name was Gadai Brahma. He first received the title of Kab-Rai (Kavi Ray), Prince of Poets or Poet Laureate) and afterwards 'Rajah Birbar(or Rajah Birbal, the renowned Warrior).³

It seems that the title of Khan was inferior to the title having the suffix Khan. Whereas the title of Khan could be held simultaneously by a number of persons, the title having the suffix of Khan could be held only by one person at a time. Further, whereas the title of Khan did not replace the name of the person, in the later case the

1 Z.K. I, p.183. ✓

2 Ain I, Bloch, p.442.

3 M.T.II, Lowe, p.164. ✓

original name of the person ~~who~~^{was} changed by the title. For example, Muzaffar Ali Turbati received the title of Khan and came to be known as Muzaffar Khan Turbati. Similarly when in the 7th R.Y. Khawjah Muinuddin Ahmad Farankhudi was distinguished among the Wazirs of the diwan-i-buytat for his ability and raised to the rank of Khan and came to be known as Khwajah Muinuddin Ahmad Khan Farankhudi.¹ In these cases the original name was not changed. But when Zahid, son of Sadiq Khan first received the title of Khan, he came to be known as Zahid Khan but soon afterwards when he received the title of Sadiq Khan, he came to be known as Sadiq Khan. Similarly Muqim Beg first received the title of Khan and came to be known as Muqim Khan but in the 9th R.Y. he received the title of Shujaat Khan, he came to be known as Shujaat Khan.² Muqim was first given the title of Khan and came to be known as Muqim Khan but later on he was given the title of Wazir Khan and became popular as Wazir Khan. Thus it is clear that the title having the suffix of Khan was higher than the title of Khan or the rank of Khanship. The general practice appears to be that at first, an amir was raised to

1 A.N.II(Tr.)pp. 260-61.

2 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I, p. 722; Iqbal, II, p.200.

the position of Khanship by the conferment of the title Khan and then he got the title of Khan having the suffix of Khan. But occasionally, the persons got the title having the suffix Khan directly without being raised to the position of Khanship and having received the title having the suffix of Khan, they automatically got the position of Khanship. Such cases are rare.

In the later reigns the practice established by Akbar was followed and once a title had been conferred on a particular noble, it was not given to anybody else so long as the first holder was alive. But if that title was to be conferred on any other persons, the original grantee was given a fresh title. Thus, only after the title holder had relinquished his old title for the new one, the old title could be conferred on the other noble. In the reign of Aurangzeb, the title of Khan-i-Jahan was granted to Bahadur Khan after it had been relinquished by Shaista Khan.¹ But in the time of Akbar, it appears that even when a person was granted a new title, his previous title was not given to anybody else. Pir Mohammad Sherwani first received the title of Nasirulmulk and afterwards that of Khan and he was first known as Nasirulmulk and afterwards as Pir Mummad Khan

¹ The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb by M. Athar Ali,
p. 140.

but the title of Nasirulmulk was not given to anybody else in the reign of Akbar. Abdurrahim was first given the title of Mirza Khan and afterwards that of Khan-i-Khanan but the title of Mirza Khan was not given to anybody else in the reign. Similarly Patr Das was first given the title of Rai Rayan and then of Rajah Bikramajit, but the title of Rai Rayan was not given to anybody else.

There were some titles which were conferred only once while there were others which were conferred more than once. To the former category belonged the titles of Afzal Khan, Bahadur Khan, Ghazi Khan, Khan-i-Dauran, Khan-i-Jahan¹, Khwajah-i-Jahan, Lashkar Khan, Shahbaz Khan, Mirza Khan etc. To the latter category belonged the titles of Khan-i-Khanan, Khan-i-Azam, Asaf Khan, Ashraf Khan and Khan-i-Alam etc.

Titles of Mirza and Rajah were considered to be equivalent in prestige and honour. In one of the letters Abul Fazl explains Mirza Aziz Kokah that he should not be angry with the emperor. The emperor had given him high position and there was no difference between Mirza and Rajah

1 In the 18th R.Y. Husain Quli Beg received the title of Khan-i-Jahan 'a title in reputation next to that of Khan-i-Khanan' says Bloch Mann, Ain I, Bloch, pp. 349-50; A.N.III, Tr. pp. 56-57.

(Rajah Man Singh).¹

I agree with Dr. Radhey Shyam's view that during the reign of Akbar comparatively large number of titles were conferred on Khanazads and Iranis. Akbar was much influenced by hereditary and family so far the conferment of mansabs and titles was concerned. This is borne out by the fact that occasionally preference was given to Khanazads and those who hailed from the noble families or belonged to the Iranian stock. The conferment of the titles on a large number of the Iranis is indicative of the fact that the Irani influence was gradually increasing.

Along with titles which served for the names of the nobles, elaborate sets of epithets, appellations and forms of address were prescribed for every important noble and had to be used in all official correspondence. For example Bairam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Itizad-i-daulat qahira (the stay of Victorious dominion)²; Khwajah Abdur Samad, Shirin-qalam (master of the Pen)³; Azad-ul-daulah⁴ (the Pillar of the empire), Amir Fathullah Shirazi; Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi, Malik-ush-Shaura; etc.⁵ ✓

1 Har-Seh-Daftar-i-Abul Fazl (Luck, 1299)p.131. ✓

2 A.N. Vol. II (Tr.)p.9.

3 Ain I Bloch PP 554-55; AN III (Tr.) P. 598

4 Ain III (Tr.) P.701 (Here the meaning is "Arm of the Empire")

5 Ain I . Bloch PP. 549-50 Malik-ush Shaura or Post-Laurate;

AN III, P.559.

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AN III, P. 559.

Generally titles were awarded at the ~~g~~time of the accession of the emperor, on the Persian New Year's Day (Nauroz) anniversary of the accession. On the birth anniversary of the emperor and on the day of a victory gained in a battle or campaign by the royal arms. Akbar's coronation at Kalanaur was a tame affair without any large scale festivities. Abul Fazl says, 'territory adorning officers and grandees of Chaghtai lineage (Turanis, the Mughal emperors too belonged to this line) whether those who had the bliss of serving in the presence, or were stationed in the provinces or on the borders to hold the territories or to subdue them, received, one and all, social marks of attention in addition to their being distinguished by royal favours, in accordance with their position and merit'.¹ It shows that the old officers were confirmed in their possessions, posts and honours. The first important and decisive event of the reign was the defeat of Hemu (1st Regnal year). This occasion was celebrated with the award of titles and jagirs.

Robes of honour (khilats) were presented to the nobles as a mark of imperial favour. These Khilats consisting

1 A.N. Vol.II(Tr.)p.9.

of three to seven pieces were of different varieties. Those granted as a special honour were called Khilat-i-Khas (or the personal robes of the emperor). When Khilat-i-Khas was awarded to anyone, the recipient had to salute (taslim) four times before and four times after putting on the khilat. In case of ordinary khilats four salutations were considered sufficient. The khilats were generally awarded on the same occasions on which titles were conferred, but sometimes khilats were sent to encourage the nobles and officers and sometimes after the victory to reward the officers when no title was given along with.

Grant of the personal robe of the emperor was considered to be a great honour and was conferred upon the great amirs only. In 1560 A.D. Akbar bestowed on Bairam Khan a glorious robe which he himself was wearing on his own breast.¹ In 1577 A.D. Qutbuddin Khan was presented a robe of honour called 'daqu' which was held in high esteem in the Mughal family.² The 'daqu' dress was conferred only on great amirs. Both Shamsuddin Atgah Khan and Qutbuddin Khan who were honoured with this khilat were

1 A.N.II(Tr.)p.181; Maasir-i-Rahimi, I,p.679.

2 A.N.III(Tr.)p.401.

the mansabdars of 5000. Both^{of}/them were given high titles when they were given these Khilats. Shamsuddin Khan Atgah received the title of Khan-i-Aazm and Qutbuddin Khan that of Beglar Begi. Generally when a title was ~~Bestowed~~ conferred on an individual, he was also presented a robe of honour. The conferment of the title along with a robe of honour was considered to be a great honour. Next in precedence, was the conferment of a title alone and then the presentation of a robe of honour alone.

In the 20th R.Y. (1675-76 A.D., 983 A.H.) Husain Quli Khan, Khan-i-Jahan was honoured with the rank of Amir-ul-Umarah. At the time of his appointment~~x~~ as the governor of Bengal, he was honoured with the gift of a gold embroidered Qaba, a robe of honour and a chahar qab (also a special kind of robe) of gold embroidery.¹

When a noble was dismissed from the service, his insignia of dignity used to be granted to another noble. When Bairam Khan was dismissed his flag, kettledrum and tumantogh (standard) were presented to Shamsuddin Mohammad Khan Atgah and after Shamsuddin won a victory over Bairam Khan, his daqu and fatahi dress (khilats) were also given

1 T.A. II, B.De, p.480.

to Shamsuddin.¹

In the 49th R.Y.. Khan-i-Azam was presented a gold embroidered Shawl, On the death of Miriam Makani (Akbar's mother) ~~first of all~~. Then gold embroidered Shawls were presented to all the mansabdars from the rank of 5,000 to that of 1,000; dopatta Gujarati Shawls were given to mansabdars from the rank of 900 to 500; embroidered (Kalabatun) Shawls were given to mansabdars from 400 to 100; plain shawls were given to mansabdars below 100. To the conspicuous ahadin^{47k} handkerchiefs were given.² ✓ In the R.Y. Qulij Khan received a special shawl.³ Mirza Shahrukh was presented a shawl in the 48th R.Y. It appears that the practice of presenting a shawl came in fashion in the end of Akbar's reign.⁴ ✓

Different standards were also conferred upon the nobles as a mark of honour. Abul Fazl describes the standards conferred by the emperor upon nobles:

" (1) The Alam or standard. When the king rides out, not less than five of these are carried along with the Qur (the Qur is a cXollection of flags, arms, and

1 The daqu dress (pelisse)- the word is of Arabic origin and means some valuable kind of dress. Fatahi probably means the robe of victory. A.N. II Tr.p.174 n.8,9.

2 A.N. III (Tr.), pp. 1245-56.

3 Ibid., p.1212.

4 Ibid., p. 1229.

other insignia which follow the king wherever he goes) wrapped up in scarlet cloth bags. On day of festivity and in battle, they are unfurled.

- (2) The Chatr toq, a kind of Alam but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Thibetan yaks.
- (3) The Tumantoq, is like the Chatrtoq but longer. Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only.
- (4) The Jhanda is an Indian flag. The Qur necessarily contains a flag of each kind but on great occasions many are displayed.¹

The 'Alam or standard could be awarded to the mansabdars of 1000 or above. The nobles below the rank of 1000 could not be awarded the Alam.²

In the 16th R.Y. Charqab was presented to Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan,³ and Iskandar Khan. In the 17th R.Y. as Rajah Bhagwan Das had shown his valour in the battle of Sarnal (Gujarat) he was presented Alam and Naqaarah.⁴

1 Ain I, Bloch, p.52.

2 Mirat-ul-Istilah, p.16a.

3 Massir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I. p.775. (CHARQAB was a robe of honour)

4 Ibid., p. 783.

The right to play the naubat or the conferment of the Naqqarah (kettledrum) was considered to be a great honour and was granted to a noble as a special favour or honour. But the recipient had to be a mansabdar of the rank of 2000 or above.¹ In the 36th R.Y. when the mansab of Zain Khan Kokah was raised to 4000, he was given the privilege of beating the drums (right to drums).² In the 5th R.Y. Pirmohammad Sherwani received the title of Khan, a standard and a drum.³ In the 19th R.Y. Rajah Todar Mal was presented a standard and a drum and sent for the conquest of Bengal with the army.⁴ In the 39th R.Y. Mirza Rustam was given a flag and a drum.⁵ In the 48th R.Y. Rajah Suraj Singh was distinguished among his equals with the grant of a kettledrum because he had distinguished himself in the Deccan.⁶ The procedure for the conferment of Naqaarah or Alam was identical- the alam or naqqarah was placed on the shoulder of the recipient and he had to perform the kornish or kneeling salutation.

1 Mirat-al-Istilah, f. 16a; This is corroborated by Chandra Bhal Brahman's Guldasta, f 6b.

2 A.N. III(Tr.)p.889.

3 A.N.II (Tr.)p.156;

4 A.N.III(Tr.) pp.144-45.

5 A.N.III,Tr.p.999.

6 Ibid., Tr. p. 1229; Maasir-i-Rahimi, II,p.864.

The appointment to the post of ataliq (guardianship) of a prince was considered to be a great honour. Only great nobles were appointed to this post. When Qutbuddin Khan was appointed ataliq to Prince Sultan Salim, the emperor Akbar placed the Shahjadah on Qutbuddin's shoulders which was also considered to be a great honour.¹ (25th R.Y.) In the 25th R.Y. (July, 1580 A.D.) Sharif Khan, brother of Shamsuddin Mohammad Atgah Khan was made ataliq of Prince Murad.² In the 38th R.Y. (1593 A.D.) Sadiq Khan was appointed ataliq to Prince Sultan Murad and sent to him. As Ismail Quli Khan had not done well in this appointment, he was replaced by Sadiq Khan to this office and sent off. He skillfully managed the things.³ In the 42nd R.Y. Qulij Khan was raised to the mansab of 4500 and appointed ataliq of Prince Sultan Daniyal,⁴ and sent with him to Allahabad. In the 35th R.Y. Zain Khan Kokah was made the ataliq of Prince Parwiz. He was then the mansabdar of 2500.⁵ In the 22nd R.Y. said (Syed Khan) Khan Chaghtai was appointed ataliq of Prince Daniyal.⁶ In the 14th R.Y.

1 A.N.III, (Tr.)p.401.

2 Ain I, Bloch, p.416; A.N. III pp. 458-59.

3 A.N.III, (Tr.)p.985.

4 Ibid., pp. 1076-77.

5 Ibid., p.875.

6 Ain I, Bloch, p.351.

Shaikh Muhammad Bokhari was made the ataliq of Shahjahan Salim.¹ In the 8th R.Y. Munim Khan was appointed ataliq of Mirza Mohammad Hakim, younger brother of Akbar.² Bairam Khan was appointed ataliq of Prince Akbar by Emperor Humayun and he was confirmed by Akbar at his accession.³ In the 27th R.Y. Mirza Khan was appointed ataliq of Prince Salim. Though Qutbuddin Khan had been promoted to the office of ataliq, yet as at that time he had a charge of a distant country (Gujarat), Mirza Khan, son of Bairam Khan was exalted to this post.⁴ In the 42nd R.Y. Mirza Yusuf Khan was appointed ataliq of Prince Murad. He had been given a jagir in Gujarat in the previous year and had been sent there. But in this year when Sadiq Khan died, he was raised to this high office and was asked to join the prince quickly.⁵ In the 39th R.Y. Rajah Mansingh was made ataliq of Prince Sultan Khusrau and his maintenance jagir was given in Bengal and that country was given to his charge.⁶ Again in 50th R.Y. Rajah Man Singh was made ataliq of Prince Khusrau.⁷

1 Iqbal II, p.238.

2 A.N. II, (Tr.), p.284.

3 A.N. II, (Tr.) pp. 9, 26

4 A.N. III, (Tr.) p.583.

5 Ibid., p.1081.

6 Ibid., p. 999.

7 Ibid., p. 1257.

The emperor presented a variety of gifts to his nobles as a mark of favour or distinction. He tendered gifts such as- jewelled ornaments, daggers and swords with jewelled hilts, horses and elephants with gold and silver trappings, waist-belts etc. to them. In the 20th R.Y. (1575-76) Husain Quli Khan was presented a belt (kamār) and sword ornamented with gold and jewels and a horse with a golden saddle.¹ In 992 A.H. Mirza Khan (Abdurrahim) was given a horse, a robe of honour, jewelled girdle and dagger, and a tumantoq (a standard of the highest degree) and the rank of 5000 which was the highest dignity of the amirs.² In the 18th R.Y. Rajah Todar Mal was given Shamshir-i-khas when he departed for Bengal, when the emperor Akbar was encamped at Ajmer.³ In the 25th R.Y. when Itimad Khan of Gujarat was given Sarkar of Pattan in jagir. He was given 30 elephants and 100 horses.⁴

In the 1st R.Y. of Jahangir (1605-6 A.D.) Rajah Man Singh who had reached the mansab of 7000 under Akbar, was given Charqab (vest with sleeves) as a robe of honour, a jewelled sword and a horse from the imperial stable and sent to the province of Bengal which was a place of

1 T.A.II, B.De., p.480.

2 T.A. II, B. De., P.578.

3 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.II, p.806.

4 A.N. III(Tr.) pp. 464-65.

50,000 horse.¹

In the 20th R.Y. Abdur Rahim, Khan-i-Khanan showed much hospitality to Daud Afghan in Bengal and reported the same to Akbar. Akbar was very much pleased and he sent for the Khan-i-Khanan a precious khilat, Kamar, Shamshir-i-Murasa, a horse ~~h~~ with gold trappings.²

Sometimes cash reward was also given to the nobles as marks of honour. Shaikh Abul Fazl was presented 50,000 Rupees in the 47th R.Y.³ Mirza Rustam Safawi, son of Sultan Husain Mirza was given a reward (inam) of 1 krór tankah and a mansab of 5000 and Multan in jagir when he came to court of Akbar with his family in the 38th R.Y.⁴ When Tardi Khan, son of Qiya Khan Gang was promoted to the mansab of 2,500, he also received a present of 5 lacs of Rupees in the 49th R.Y. of Akbar.⁵

Keeping of the royal seal was considered to be a great honour and it was conferred on nobles of high rank alone. It was conferred upon Rajah Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khan.⁶ In the 40th R.Y. this honour was conferred upon

1 Tuzuk I, p.16.

2 Maasir-i-Rahimi II, pp. 832-33.

3 A.N.III. Tr. p. 1211.

4 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.II, p.930.

5 Ain I, Bloch, p.367.

6 Har-Sch-Daftar-i-Abul Fazl (Luck. 1299), p. 129.

Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam.¹

The nobles also offered their daughters, sisters or niece in marriage to the emperor or any prince and the acceptance of the proposal was considered to be a great honour.

There were other ways in which the emperor could honour his nobles. The visit of the emperor to the house of a particular noble was considered to be a great honour. If a particular noble desired that the emperor should visit his house, he had to make a petition to this effect and his desire was conveyed to the emperor. Generally, the petition was accepted and the desire of the noble was fulfilled. But sometimes compelled by the circumstances, the emperor postponed his visit to a later date whenever he felt convenient. Once the petition of such a great noble as Rajah Bhagwan Das was rejected because Akbar was in great hurry and the fulfillment of his desire was postponed to a later date.

The nobles who were related to the imperial family or belonged to the royal families of other countries or were the emperor's kokah (faster-brother), the emperor showed exceptional favour to such nobles and thereby enhanced their prestige.

1 A.N. III(Tr.)p.1033.

In the 18th R.Y. the prestige of Mirza Aziz Kokah who was the emperor's kokah, was raised to great heights when Akbar embraced him in the manner "affectionate Father's embrace their loving sons".¹ In the same year when Mirza Aziz Kokah came to do homage from Gujarat, when Akbar was coming to Ajmer, the emperor exalted his honour by going a few steps to welcome him.² In 1567 A.D. when the emperor went against the Uzbeks in the east, he rode on an elephant (Balsunder) and he asked Mirza Aziz Kokah to ride with him in the canopy on the same elephant and thereby his position "transcended the skies".³ It was considered to be a great honour and was conferred upon the Mirza because he was the emperor's foster-brother. The emperor placed prince Salim on the shoulders of Qutbuddin Khan when the ~~later~~ was appointed the ^aatliq of the prince.⁴ As Qutbuddin Khan (Atgah) was related to Akbar, this great honour was conferred upon him.

When Mirza Sulaiman, the ruler of Badakhshan, who belonged to the Timurid(ruling) dynasty, was coming to the court of Akbar, the emperor summoned Mirza Aziz Kokah from Gujarat to be present at the entertainments to be given in honour of Mirza Sulaiman.⁵ When the Mirza reached Punjab,

1 A.N.III(Tr.),p.87.

2 Ibid., p. 110.

3 A.N.II(Tr.)p.430; T.A.II. Be De, p.333.

4 A.N.III,Tr. p.401.

5 A.N. III, Tr. pp. 208-9.

the Punjab officers welcomed him with all respect according to orders. Khwajah Aga Jan was sent from court with the rarities of India to bring him. When he arrived near the capital, the high nobles and great officers went forward in a procession and brought him with great ceremony. When the procession was within three Kos(6 miles) from the capital, the emperor himself went on a horse to receive him. Seeing the emperor, the Mirza dismounted and came forward. Akbar too dismounted from / his horse and performed the kornish. The Mirza performed the prostration (Sijda). They returned to the palace. The common places enroute and city streets were adorned and there was a great banquet¹ (Mirza Sulaiman was given a mansab of 5000 by Akbar and enrolled among the great nobles).

The author of Zakhirat has given a vivid description of the welcome extended to Mirza Sulaiman. He says that Akbar sent fifty thousand rupees, numerous horses and other requirements to the Mirza. Agha Khan was appointed Khazanchi and sent there. The imperial officers were ordered to welcome him and show hospitality on every stage. When the Mirza arrived near Fatehpur Sikri, all the Umarah and imperial officers went to welcome him. About 5000 elephants decorated with Farhangi Makhmal and Rumi Jarva-khat(costly clothes) and golden and silver chains stood in a

1 A.N. III, Tr. pp. 220-222.

procession from the gate of Fathpur to the ^yground of Fathpur. The ground of Fathpur began to shine with these decorations. In such a display of glory, the emperor went from his palace to receive the Mirza when he reached near him, the Mirza dismounted and ran breathlessly towards the emperor. Akbar-too dismounted and embraced the Mirza both of them then proceeded towards the fort on the same horse, conversing with each other. When they reached the palace the Mirza was given a place on the throne by the side of the emperor. Prince Salim was summoned and introduced to the Mirza and afterwards Prince Salim was given a seat at a long distance from the Mirza. Prince Murad and Prince Daniyal were asked to stand. The emperor had arranged for the Mirza a room for rest near his own private room.¹

The author of the Tabaqat also says that the emperor in his great generosity sent to the Mirza fifty thousand rupees and other royal furnishings and some Iraqi and readster horses with Khwajah Aqa Khan Khazanchi. An order was given to Rajah Bhagavan Das, the governor of Lahore to go as far as Nilab river to welcome the Mirza and should arrange everyday for his entertainments. An order was issued to the governors and administrators of every town and city

1 Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I. pp. 21-22.

wherever the Mirza might halt, to attend to him and treat him as a guest.¹ When Mirza Sulaiman arrived at the town of Mathura (20 Karohs) from Fathpur, Tarsun Mohammad Khan, Qazi Nizam Badakhshi (Ghazi Khan) were sent to welcome him.² Akbar himself mounted to receive him. On that day an order was issued that five thousand elephants of mountain like size and of cloud like appearance, with jhuls (housings) of velvet of European manufacture (makhmal Firangi) and gold embriodered fabric of constantinople (Zarbaft Rumi) and adorned with chains of gold and silver and having black and white fringes suspended from their heads and necks and trunks, should be placed on either side of the road from the gate of Fathpur to a distance of five Karohs. Between every pair of elephants, there was a cart containing a Chita (leopard), which had collars of gold studded with gems and coverings of fine cloth and carts with pairs of bullocks, with headstalls of gold embroidered cloth.³ When the plain was adorned in this way Akbar mounted his horse and went to welcome. He did not allow the Mirza should adhere to the custom of Salutation (taslim) and other formal acts of politeness and customary humiliations.⁴ At this time says

1 T.A.II, B.De, p.475.

2 Ibid., p. 476.

3 Ibid., p. 477.

4 Ibid., pp. 477-78.

Badaoni, the emperor revived an old Chaghtai custom. For some days in order to exhibit it to Mirza Sulaiman, they spread royal tables in the audience hall and the officers of high grade gathered the soldiers together and took to themselves the trouble of arranging the customary food. But when the Mirza departed all then revived customs departed.¹

✓
In the 30th R.Y. (1584-85 A.D.) when Mirza Shahrukh, grandson of Mirza Sulaiman was coming to Akbar's court, an imperial order was issued that he should be escorted in a suitable manner. Kunwar Man Singh regarded his coming as a great honour and showed him full hospitality. Then he crossed the Indus and the jagirdars everywhere welcomed him. When he came to Lahore, Rajah Bhagwan Das held a great feast and accompanied him on his journey to court. When he was one stage away from Fathpur, Prince Daniyal, accompanied by many grandees came to receive him.² Nizamuddin says that Kunwar Man Singh offered Rupees five thousand and five hundred in cash and much cloth and eight horses and five elephants. Valuable robes were sent in charge of Qazi Ali Bakshi. A sum of one lac of Rupees and furnishings for his pavilion and nine or three Iraqi horses

1 M.T.II, Lowe, pp. 217-220. ✓

2 A.N.III, Tr., pp. 670-671; T.A.II, B.De, pp. 597-98; M.T. II, Lowe, p. 352.

and five elephants and some camels and servants were bestowed on the Mirza Shahrukh.¹ (Mirza Shahrukh is enrolled among the mansabdars of 5000 under Akbar in the list of the Ain.)

When in the 38th R.Y. (1593-94 A.D.) Mirza Rustam Safawi, who belonged to the ruling Safawi dynasty of Persia (Iran) came to Akbar's court, he was given a cordial welcome. An order was issued to the jagirdars on the route to regard the coming of the Mirza and honour and should show him proper respect. When he came within the empire Qara Beg, Makim Ain-ul-mulk and Bakhtiyar Beg were sent one after the other to receive him. When he had nearly approached, Sharifkhan Atgah, Shah Beg, Asaf Khan and other officers were sent off to welcome him. On the day of Dashera, the Khan-i-Khanan, Zain Khan Kokah and others received him and brought him before Akbar. He was given a mansab of 5000 and Multan and many paraganas, and Biluchistan which is larger than Qandahar were given to him in jagir. The author of Zakhirat adds a present of one kror of tankah which was given to Mirza Rustam.² The author of the Tabaqat says that a pavillion, an audience tent and qanaths (screens for tents) and other furniture from

1 * T.A.II, B.De., pp. 597-98.

2 A.N.III. Tr. pp. 993-94; T.A.II, B.De. p. 650; Z.K. vol.I, p.99.

the farashkhana (Store-house for tents etc.) was sent by the hand of Qara Beg to Mirza Rustam and then a jewelled belt and a dagger were sent by the hand of Hakim Ain-ul Mulk. Then Khan-i-Khanan and Zain Khan Kokat and other great amirs were sent to receive him. The Emperor bestowed on him. one krór Muradí tankah.¹

Another way of honouring a noble was to affectionately call him his father, brother or son. Akbar used to call Bairam Khan affectionately as Khan Baba (father) which was a great honour. Rajah Man Singh had lofty title of Farzand (affectionate son) and he was also known as Mirza Rajah.²

No doubt the titles and honours increased the prestige of the nobles but it gave them no monetary gain. At least in one case we find a noble agitated on the conferment of honours because these gave him no financial help. Shah Beg Khan Arghun was a frank Turk noble of Akbar's reign. When Akbar appointed him governor of Qandahar, he conferred upon him an alam (standard) and a naqqara (kettle drum); but on receiving the insignia he said to Farid, "what is all this trash for, Would that His Majesty gave me an order regarding my mansab and a jagir, to enable

1 T.A.II, B.E. p.650.

2 A.N.III, Tr. pp. 236-37; Ain I, Bloch, p.361.

me to get better troopers for his service."¹

Maulana Nuruddin Mohammad Tarkhan claimed to be a Tarkhan by hereditary right, whereas Akbar bestowed on him first the title of Khan and then that of Tarkhan, the latter however merely an honorary (empty) title, without any of the substantial privileges formerly attached to it. The same was the case with his earlier title of Khan.² Nuruddin was not happy with his titles because it were empty honours and gave him no monetary gain. He endured many hardships and the cruel fate brought utter ruin upon him. When Akbar departed for Atak (1586 A.D.) he appointed Mulla Nuruddin to trusteeship of the tomb of the late emperor Humayun in Delhi and there he died.³

The poet says that he had nothing but waste lands with his title of Khan, but that when he was made Tarkhan what little moisture there was in these lands seemed to evaporate. ✓

When a person was found guilty even his title was taken back. Nuruddin Mohammad was with the emperor when Akbar was marching against Mirza Hakim in 1581 A.D. Nuruddin Muhammad remained behind and returned from the Punjab

1 Ain I, Bloch, p.410. ✓

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p.275.n.1 and pp. 218-19, note 5.

3 M.T.III, Haig, pp. 274-75 (Pr.Text pp. 198-99).

to his own jagir, a line of conduct which excited suspicion against him so that after the emperor's return from this expedition, he was summoned to Fathpur, there to be called to account for his monetary transactions and his writings, to be reprimanded and deprived of his title. In this manner he was persecuted for some years. His ruin is said to be due to the impropriety of which he was guilty in lampooning the officials in the imperial city of Delhi wherein he was actuated solely by the enmity which he bore to Tatar Khan, governor of Delhi (in 1563-64 A.D. Tatar Khan was a Khurasani and governed Delhi till his death in 1578 A.D.). The satire which he wrote he chose to attribute to Qasim-i-Kahi, publishing it as the work of that poet.¹

The System of Presents

The system of offering presents to the emperor was a part of the court-etiquette. In fact, it was a general custom all over Asia that "the great are never approached ~~with~~ empty handed."² Gifts of substance presented by officers was termed as 'Peshkash'. There were certain important occasions when the nobles were expected to offer peshkash to the emperor- such as the anniversaries of the Emperor's accession, the birth anniversary of the emperor,

1 M.T.III, Haig, pp. 275-76. ✓

2 Bernier, p. 200.

the birth of a prince or princess, Nauroz (the New Year Day), the celebration of a victory and the emperor's recovery from an illness.

From the 27th R.Y. the emperor Akbar began to celebrate the Persian New Year's Day (Nauroz) every year. On this day the great Daulat Khana (Diwan-i-am) was decorated. This festival used to be celebrated for 17 days.¹ Everyday one of the great officers had charge of the assembly and the banquet or celebrations.² The nobles used to come from far off provinces to participate in the New Year Festivities and considered it an occasion to express loyalty by doing homage at the court and offering presents. When the time of the culmination (of the Sun) drew near, the special hall (diwan-i-khas) was also decorated.³

Abul Fazl says "Prayers to God were arranged according to excellent rules and everyone of the fortunate servants gave a little out of much as peshkash and heaped up eternal bliss. The delicate minded Shahinshah received a small thing and made it the material of (conferring) great rank."⁴

1 A.N.III, Tr. pp. 557-58.

2 Ibid., pp. 558, 560.

3 Ibid., p. 560.

4 Ibid.

The imperial officers and servants were expected to offer peshkash according to their status. Peshkash was usually made in jewels and precious articles and not in cash. Appointments and promotions were made on such occasions and the nobles offered presents as 'nazr' in thanks giving. The 'nazr' was different from 'Peshkash' only in the sense that it was less substantial and was offered in thanks giving on falicitious occasions. Therefore, the nobles offered presents (nazr) to the emperor on occasions of felicity in their families such as birth of a son, recovery from an illness, marriage in the family, construction of a house etc. It could also be offered when a noble came to the court from his post or jagir. The amounts offered in nazr were usually small, amounting to a few muhrs (minimum one muhr) and some ~~x~~ rupees even when offered by the great amirs.

In the first R.Y. when Bairam Khan received the news of the birth of a son (Abdurrahim) at Lahore where he had left his household, he organised a grand feast. Astronomers declared that he would arrive at high dignities and perform noble services.¹ ✓

On 31st December, 1560 A.D. Akbar reached Agra and

1 A.N.Vol. II, Eng. Tr. p.76.

he gave the house of Bairam Khan (who had been sent off to Mekkah) to Munim Khan, the Khan-i-Khanan. Munim Khan gave a royal feast in thanks-giving and begged that His Majesty would honour him by his presence. His prayer was granted and his mansion received celestial glory by the radiance of His Majesty, the Shahinshah's advent. Munim Khan tendered rare exquisite presents and stood ready to sacrifice his life for the emperor.¹ ✓

When the emperor passed through the jagir of high nobles, it was a custom to come before the emperor to do homage and offer presents to him. The opportunity thus provided by was utilised by them to express loyalty. Even when the high nobles were themselves in the royal retinue, when the emperor passed through the jagir of anyone of them, they arranged a feast to celebrate the occasion and invited the emperor to be present in the celebrations and offered presents to him. Sometimes the peshkash offered was accepted as a whole. But very often a part of the peshkash was accepted and the rest was returned to the noble. ✓

When Akbar visited the house of Zain Khan Kokah (1595 A.D.) on his own request, the latter tendered 170 elephants as a present but only some were accepted.² ✓

1 A.N. Vol.II. Tr. pp. 187-188.

2 Ibid., III, Tr. p. 1044.

Muhammad Khan of Nishapur to whom the government of Saran^apur had been entrusted came to do homage to Akbar when the latter went to Malwa. His Majesty visited his house, he presented nearly 700 ho^rses and mules. They were distributed to the officers and servants (9th R.Y.).¹ In the 22nd R.Y. when Akbar came to Delhi, he visited the quarters of Shaikh Farid Bakshi Begi who had many seats in that delightful neighbourhood on the banks of Jamuna and had places of worship at the latter's request. (A.N.III.Tr. p.322) In the 30th R.Y. again Akbar visited his house at Delhi. (A.N.III,Tr. p. 705)

When Akbar reached Delhi, he visited the house of Shaikh Farid Bokhari, Bakshi. There was an offering of peshkash and scattering of money. Some of them were accepted by His Majesty, the emperor Akbar.² (43rd R.Y.)

When in the 5th R.Y. Mir Jamaluddin Husain Anju after his arrival at court from the Deccan presented some jewels and other things from the Deccan, they were all accepted.³

When Akbar was proceeding to Punjab, in the neighbourhood of Hisar, Mihr Ali Sildoz's house was visited

1 A.N. III, Tr. p. 345.

2 Ibid., Tr. p. 1118.

3 Ibid., Tr. p. 1253.

by the emperor. A portion of the presents was accepted.¹
(22nd R.Y.) ✓

In the 47th R.Y. Khurram, son of Khan-i-Aazm sent twenty Kutehi horses (from Kutch) from Junagarh to court as peshkash.² ✓

In the 22nd R.Y. Muzaffar Khan came to the emperor at Ajmer from Bengal and Bihar and presented Rupees 4 lacs in cash (naqadi) as peshkash. The money was deposited in the royal treasury (Khazana). The emperor also gave him inam or reward.³ ✓

When the emperor reached Lahore in the 16th R.Y., Husain Quli Khan, who was the governor (Hakim) of that place, came to welcome the emperor and did prostration. The emperor stayed in his house for some days and became his guest and he offered peshkash.⁴

In the 49th R.Y. when Rai Rayan was given the title of Bikramajit, he in gratitude for this favour presented two elephants and some other things. The author of Iqbalnamah says that he presented ten elephants.⁵

1 A.N. III, Tr. p. 328.

2 Ibid., Tr. p. 1224.

3 Iqbal II, p. 317.

4 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I, p. 722.

5 A.N.III, Tr. p. 1249; Iqbal II, p.505.

In the 29th R.Y. Rajah Todar Mal's house was visited by Akbar. The Rajah had for a long time cherished this desire and he preferred his request in an excellent manner. It was accepted and in thanks giving he had a great feast.¹

When after the suppression of the rebellions of Ali Quli Khan and Bahadur Khan Uzbek, Akbar proceeded towards the capital, the jagirdars at various places gave feasts to the emperor. When Akbar reached the town of Karra which was in the jagir of Farhat Khan (a noble) the latter made a petition to the emperor for a visit and his request was granted. He gave a great feast. Similarly, Shujaat Khan, another noble offered a great feast at Etawah. (1567 A.D.)²

In the 49th R.Y. when Shaikh Farid Bakshri was given the mansab of 4000 ~~Lat~~/2000 Suwar, a flag and a drum, he presented 5 valuable pearls, 4 rubis and an elephant in thanks giving.³ The author of Iqbalnamah says he gave 1000 muhrs, 5 pearls, 4 lal (precious stones) and an elephant to Akbar.⁴

In the 27th R.Y. Akbar visited the house of Rajah

1 A.N.III, Tr. p.661.

2 Ibid.II,Tr. p. 497.

3 Ibid.,III, Tr. 1249.

4 Iqbal, II, p. 505.

Birbal. Akbar had ordered the erection of stone palaces for Rajah Birbal. When they were finished, Birbal petitioned Akbar to visit his house. It was granted and in Jan. 1583, there was a splendid feast in his house in the emperor's honour.¹ In the 28th R.Y. Rajah Birbal was again honoured by Akbar's presence.² In the 26th R.Y. Rajah Birbal offered presents when His Majesty came to Desuha (in Jammu) of which he was the jagirdar.³ In the 29th R.Y. Rajah Birbal's house was visited by Akbar.⁴

The nobles and princes used to offer presents according to their ranks and Status. The princes used to offer rich presents because they enjoyed such high mansabs to which even the great nobles could not reach, such mansabs being reserved for the princes alone.

In the 48th R.Y. when Prince Salim came to court, he presented 12,000 muhurs and 977 elephants, out of the latter 350 were accepted. Akbar took off his turban from his head and placed it on the prince's head.⁵

1 A.N. III, Tr. p.587.

2 Ibid., Tr. p.517.

3 Ibid., Tr. p.511.

4 Ibid., Tr. p.657.

5 Ibid., Tr. p. 1230; Iqbal II, p.493. He says that 354 elephants were ~~x~~ returned.

In the 46th R.Y. Prince Sultan Daniyal came to court at the festival of culmination (Nauroz) and gave a feast and presented valuable jewels which had been taken at Ahmad Nagar.¹

In the 47th R.Y. Prince Daniyal sent as peshkash a diamond weighing 27 surkhs and a ruby weighing 4 misqads.²

When Mirza Husain Safawi, who belonged to the royal family of Iran came to Akbar's court in the 40th R.Y. (1595 A.D.), he did homage at the court and presented the emperor Akbar one hundred Iraqi horses and other things. Among them was a wonderful shell which when rubbed on a snake-bite sucked out the poison and caused recovery. He was given a mansab of 5000 and Sarkar Sambhal in jagir.³

In the 35th R.Y. Rajah Mansingh's peshkash (presents) arrived at court from Bihar. He sent valuable part of the plunder and elephants to court. They were produced before His Majesty.⁴ In the 44th R.Y. Rajah Mansingh offered a choice set of presents. Among them was 50 valuable diamonds.^{4a}

1. A.N.III, Tr. p. 1178.

2. Ibid., Tr. p. 1224.

3 Ibid., Tr. pp. 1030-31.

4 Ibid., Tr. pp. 872-73.

4a Ibid., Tr. p. 1133.

The author of the Iqbalnamah says that Rajah Man Singh presented as peshkash 200 elephants, 50 precious jewels and other things. He gave gifts to the servants of the court separately.¹ In the 50th R.Y. Rajah Man Singh came from Bengal and did homage, he tendered 1000 muhrs and Rs. 12,000 as present. He brought numerous elephants from Bengal.² The author of Iqbalnamah says that he presented 1000 muhrs and 2000 Rs.³

In the 20th R.Y. Rajah Todar Mal came to court and brought 54 noted elephants and rarities of Bengal.⁴ In the 21st R.Y. Rajah Todar Mal came from Bengal in Banswara and did homage to Akbar. Among the spoils he presented were noted elephants.⁵

In the 15th R.Y. Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam who was going with the emperor, requested the emperor to visit his house when they reached in his jagir. His request was granted and Akbar stayed at his residence in Dipalpur (Dibalpur). For some days he remained his guest. Mirza Aziz

1 Iqbal, II. p. 462.

2 A.N. III. Tr. p. 1256.

3 Iqbal, II, p. 509. ✓

4 A.N. III, Tr. p. 223.

5 A.N. III, Tr. p. 277.

showed much hospitality. The author of the Maasir-i-Rahimi says that such hospitality was shown very rare. On the last day he gave peshkash to the emperor. The peshkash included Arabi and Iraqi horses with gold and silver saddlings, huge elephants with chains of gold and silver, Jhul of the horses embroidered with gold and makhmal, Anykush (to beat the elephants) of gold and silver, pearls, jawahar, Yaqut, Palang (bed), Chaukies of gold, utensils of gold and silver and many rarities and precious things from Rum, Farang, Yezd etc. In the same manner he gave precious gifts to the princes and the ladies of the harem. Each of the servant of the emperor got a gift according to his post.¹

Sometimes the foreign rulers also sent presents for the great nobles through their ambassadors. In the 17th R.Y. the ambassador of Turan came to Akbar's court and brought for him the rarities of his country. He also brought gifts for Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan and Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam.²

The nobles who were Zamindars also, offered peshkash at the time of their accession to their gaddi

1 Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol.I, pp. 771.72.

2 Iqbal, II, pp. 244-45.

(hereditary throne). The tributary chiefs or the Rajahs who accepted the suzerainty of Akbar and offered their allegiance to him, used to send an annual peshkash (tribute) to him. So long they offered tribute annually, they were considered to be obedient to the throne but when they withheld it for a long time, they were liable to be punished. The peshkash offered by the tributary chiefs was different in nature from the peshkash of the nobles, the former being a token of the recognition of the emperor's supremacy. ✓

It is said that peshkash was in a way veiled form of bribe offered to the Emperor in hope of certain favours. From the ethical point of view the system of offering presents was against the dictates of the religion. It was a financial burden too upon the nobles. Bernier holds the view that the nobles were ruined partly because of the presents they had to offer to the emperor. The statement seems to be an exggeration of the facts considering in view two important aspects of the system of presents. Firstly, the nobles were to offer peshkash according to their status and position. Secondly, sometimes, a part of the peshkash was ~~sometimes~~ accepted and the rest was returned to the offerer. Then the emperor also gave the nobles gifts and presents and rewards. Further the nobles wanted to maintain

their glory and offered rich presents to make a show of their power and splendour. Therefore the system was not a burden, at least upon the nobles in the reign of Akbar when they were highly paid. In fact the system was beneficial both to the emperor and the nobles. The nobles gained their desires and the emperor tested their loyalty and regard to the throne and the glitter of the presents enhanced the splendour of the imperial court. In a way it was a competition in which the nobles always sought to offer rich presents to get a particular favour or to seek promotion. It also offered them an opportunity to maintain their pomp and show outward glory.

Mansabdars And The Public Service

In the Mughal period it is correct to speak of a service\$ and not of services, because there was practically no difference in regard to functions.¹ Once appointed, the officer's time was entirely at the Emperor's disposal, and his duties by no means ended after he had supplied the contingent or fulfilled other obligations. He could be employed either on military duties or in civil administrations. Even if, ^{he} had no specific employment, he was required to be present at court, in attendance and wait upon the Emperor

1 The Agrarian System of Moslem India by Moreland, p.93. ✓

and perform the work which he might be called upon to do from time to time, unless he was sent elsewhere. When a person was assigned any work in a particular department, he was not given any extra salary for the office. His Zat pay included everything. Therefore⁴ he failed to perform his duty to the Emperor's satisfaction, he was punished not by the cancellation of any allowance but a reduction in his mansab.

The mansabdari system included all government services, without any official subdivisions into military, administrative, revenue or judicial branches. Any officer was at any time liable to be transferred to any branch of service. For example, Rajah Todar Mal, who was essentially a financier was transferred more than once as a governor and even as a military commander. Abul Fazl, the eminent scholar and historian was sent on a diplomatic mission and^{to} conduct a military expedition in the Deccan. Rajah Birbar who was no more^{than} a court wit was asked to lead an expedition against the tribal Afghans. There was no separate educational or medical service. The teachers, scholars and physicians were employed in the imperial service and were given mansabs. The judiciary was a separate institution in itself as it required a specialised academic training and the good knowledge of the Sharia'at. Before the time of Akbar, the Qazis and Sadrs could not be called the imperial servants.

But ~~Has~~ Akbar conferred mansabs upon some Qazis and Sadrs, they were regarded as imperial servants and called mansabdars. Though mansabs were conferred upon the qazis and sadrs they could expect careers in one branch only. Sultan Khwajah Naqshbandi (No. 108 of the Ain) though neither learned in the sciences nor in tasawwuf (mysticism) had yet much of the saintly philosopher in him. He possessed in a high degree the confidence and the friendship of the Emperor. In ⁹⁸⁴894 A.H. he was made Mir Hajj and as such commanded a large party of courtiers during the pilgrimage to Makkah. On his return in 986 A.H. (23rd regnal year) he was given a mansab of one thousand and appointed Sadr of the realm. He held that office till his death in 992 A.H. (29th regnal year.).¹ Mir Sadr-i-Jahan Mufti (Ain No. 194) was sent as an ambassador to Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the ruler of Turan with Hakim (No. 205). Sadr-i-Jahan returned in the 34th year and was made Sadr upto the 40th year he had risen to the dignity of a mansabdar of 700, but later he was made an amir and got a mansab of 2000.² Mir Abdul hay, Mir Adl (Ain No. 230) was also a mansabdar.³ We find that these officers made their career in the judiciary only and no other duties were

1 Ain I, (Tr.) pp. 466-67. According to Badaoni and Abul Fazl he belonged to the Elect of Divine Faith.

2 Ibid., p. 522. In the reign of Jahangir he was promoted to the rank of 4000.

3 Ibid., p. 536. The Tabaqat calls him Khwajah Abdul hay and says that he was an amir. Abul Fazl also mentions him as a mansabdar of 500. He was the Chief Justice of the Empire. See, p. 522.

usually assigned to them. The officers of the judiciary were never assigned any executive or financial work probably in order to avoid the possibility of their having developing interests in administration and consequent intervention in administration and politics. But still the judiciary was in no way an independent institution and the members of the judicial branch could not keep them self aloof from the other branches of administration. They took interest in administration and politics and played an important part in the execution of state policies. The nobles, however, considered the judiciary an entirely separate institution and resented their interference in the administration. Akbar too, could not tolerate the overwhelming influence of the judiciary and he curtailed the powers of the officers of the judiciary, as shall be described in the subsequent section.

Like the members of the judiciary, the physicans too were employed in the imperial service to look after the health of the Emperor, the princes, the nobles ^{or others} etc. They were given mansabs and rose to the ranks of nobility but their services were generally utilised in the medical sphere. When Akbar learnt of Prince Murad's illness, he sent Hakim Misri (physi^{ci}an) to the Deccan for treatment. Similarly when Prince Daniyal became very weak due to drinking, Akbar sent Hakim Abul Fath to the Deccan. When the Emperor himself fell ill in September, 1605 Hakim Ali treated him. But exceptions

were there. Hakim Abul Fath was once sent in a military expedition against the tribal Afghan, On the north-west frontier. Similarly, scholars, men of letters and poets ^{and men,} etc. were given mansabs and they rose high in the imperial service. But their services were utilised mainly in educational field. They composed poems, made translations, and worked as advisers to the Emperor. Some of them were masters of both pen and sword. Here again they were occasionally asked to perform military duties.¹ Therefore, we see that the imperial service was organised on bureaucratic principles and was essentially military in organisation and outlook. The members of the service were called mansabdars and every official was a holder of a mansab.² Thus the imperial service was organised on definite military ~~is~~ lines and its members were expected to perform military duties in addition to other duties- administrative, financial or judicial.

Military obligations were invariably imposed on all mansabdars but since separate departments had to be established

1 The physicians, scholars, qazis and sadrs etc. were sometimes sent on diplomatic missions. ✓

2 There were also the ahadis, the matchlockbearers (Bandugchis, the Darbans (Porters), the Shamsherbar (gladiators), the Pahlwans (wrestlers), who were in the imperial service but held no mansab. ✓

for administration of the country with posts such as Wakil (the Prime Minister), Wazir or Diwan (the Finance Minister), Mir Bakshi (War Minister), Sadr (the minister for ecclesiastical and judicial affairs), Kotwal (police), Faujdar (in-charge of Civil and Military affairs), etc., The post, held by the mansabdar imposed different types of duties upon them. In the central administration under Akbar in the beginning of the reign there were only two ministers - Wakil or Prime Minister who was in charge of the entire administration, civil and military and a Sadr (head of the ecclesiastical and judicial department. The Wakil was assisted by a deputy, called deputy ~~to~~ the prime minister (or diwan to the Wakil). Bairam Khan held the post of Wakil; Pir Mohammad Khan was his deputy; and Mir Fathullah was the Sadr. But Bairam Khan appointed Shaikh Gadai, a Shia, as the Sadr of the Empire. Later on he dismissed Pir Mohammad Khan from the post of deputy and appointed Haji Mohammad Khan Sistani in his stead. Gradually, when the central administration was well organised and evolved by Akbar, it consisted of four departments each presided over by a minister. The ministers were- (1) The Wakil (the Prime Minister); (2) Wazir or Diwan (the Finance minister); (3) Mir Bakshi (War Minister); (4) Sadr (head of the judicial and ecclesiastical department).

Wakil : His position was next to the Emperor. When the Emperor was a minor, Wakil Bairam Khan was all in all and had the power to appoint and dismiss other officers who were his subordinates. His authority can be judged from the fact that he appointed Shaikh Gadai, a Shia, to the office of Sadr at a court in which Sunnis were in majority and in preference to venerated Saiyyads. He inflicted capital punishment on Tardi Beg. He conferred ranks and jagirs and interfered in the private affairs of the Emperor. He was thus a prime minister with unlimited powers and might appropriately be called Grand Wazir or Wazir-i-tafuriz. But after the dismissal of Bairam Khan, Wakil was gradually deprived of these unlimited powers. The department of finance was taken away from him and a separate minister called Wazir was appointed to take charge of it. Thus another minister was raised to almost equal in status to that of Wakil. ✓ Afterwards Wakil ceased to have full control over other departments and the Wazir in course of time became so dominant as to eclipse the authority and prestige of the Wakil. ✓ For several years Akbar did not fill the post of Wakil and himself acted as his own prime minister. When the office was revived the Wakil was not entrusted with any portfolio. ✓ The post became ornamental and did not carry with it serious duties except, those of an advisor to the Emperor or of his vicegerent during his illness or absence ✓

from the capital.¹ After the dismissal of Bairam Khan, Maham Anga and Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan acted as defacto prime-ministers (about the end of March, 1560). It seems that the joint prime minister, exercised all the powers and duties of Bairam Khan, i.e. of a grand Wazir with ~~un~~ unlimited powers. As Maham Anga wanted to retain her supremacy and make Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Khwajah Jahan, another powerful leader, her tools, friction arose and Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan was dismissed. On Maham Anga's recommendation, Bahadur Khan Uzbek was appointed in his stead. Though he was the Prime Minister in name, the real power was in the hand of Maham Anga. But he too was removed from prime-ministership and was transferred to Etawah. Maham Anga thus recovered her ascendancy and continued to act as prime minister till September 10, 1560. When Munim Khan came from Kabul and was raised to that high office. However, after he had worked for a little over one year, his term of office came abruptly to an end. In November, 1561, Akbar's foster father Shamsuddin Mohammad Atgah Khan was raised to the post of Wakil.² He remained in this office

1 A.L. Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great', Vol. II, pp. 44-54 ✓

2 He had petitioned the Emperor that as he was given the insignia of the office of Bairam Khan, his office should also be given to him and it was difficult for Akbar to decline, especially when Munim Khan had attached himself to Maham Anga's party. In the account of 7th R.Y. the author of ^{1511 AD} *Shah name* says that Munim Khan too wanted to be wakil-us-sultani and Akbarhan aroused him and Shihab Khan instigated further the conspiracy. *BARAT I P. 178.*

till his murder in May, 1562.¹ After his death, the Emperor again appointed Munim Khan to the post of Wakil in June 1562 and he continued in office till 1567.

Shamsuddin Atgah Khan, like Munim Khan, enjoyed full powers of prime ministership and was entrusted with the management of affairs, political and financial,* and the disposal of matters relating to the army and to the civil population.² He was, after Bairam Khan's fall, the first Wakil who did not belong to Maham Angah's faction and was appointed without her influence. In fact he was opposed to her. Akbar was personally responsible for his appointment, though it was not done on his own initiative.

After the murder of Shamsuddin, Munim Khan and Qasim Khan who had hand in the affair, fled from the court out of fear. But they were arrested and brought back to court from their way to Kabul. Akbar handled the situation

1 The appointment of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan to the post of Wakil enraged Maham Angah "who regarded herself as the Substantial prime minister" and Munim Khan "who was ostensible Wakil and sat on the masnad. They along with Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, Qasim Khan and Adham Khan formed a conspiracy against the new Wakil and had him murdered. Akbar took prompt steps against Maham Angah's faction and put Adham Khan to an instantaneous death. Maham Augah could not bear the shock of his son's death and died after 40 days. A.N. II, pp. 230-31, 269-75.

2 A.N. Vol. II (Tr.), p. 230.

with great tact and political foresight. He forgave the offenders and restored Munim Khan to his former title of Khani-Khanah¹ and reappointed him to the post of Wakil (June, 1562¹). Munim Khan continued in his office till June, 1567, when he was sent to take charge of Jaunpur as governor, which was apparently a degradation and he fell out of favour. During this term of office Munim Khan never wielded the authority which he had exercised during his first term of office. By then Akbar had realised that it was not safe to allow his Wakil, the highest offices of the Empire, to wield unlimited authority. Consequently, within three months of Munim Khan's reinstatement, he took steps to deprive him of unlimited authority. He created a new post, namely diwan of khalisa territory (crown land) ^{reserved} and appointed Itimad Khan, a competent financier, to take charge of it (September, 1562). Within a year he appointed a fullfledged revenue and finance minister and raised Muzaffar Khan to the post of Wazir or diwan. Thus finance was completely taken from the hands of the Wakil and an independent department (Diwan-i-Wazarat) was created. At about the same time Lashkar Khan was appointed mir bakshi and was given the charge of military department. The creation of two posts namely Wazir and Mir Bakshi, tremendously curtailed the powers of the Wakil. Unfortunately in May 1566 Munim Khan's prestige suffered greatly on account of his duplicity in the negotiations with the Uzbek rebels (Khan-i-Zaman, Ali Quli Shaibani or Uzbek and his brother

Bahadur Khan), and that of Muzaffar Khan, the Wazir who was responsible for bring^ging the fact to the notice of the Emperor, enhanced proportionately. Therefore, after the death of Khan-i-Zaman, Munim Khan, the Wakil (Prime minister) ~~was~~ was demoted and sent to Jaunpur to take charge of that province in June, 1567. Munim Khan's six year prime ministership (consisting of two terms, first of a little more than one year and the second of five years 1562-67) proved fatal for the empire and did^{not} bring any credit to him. During the first term of office, he displayed vacillation, played a second fiddle to Maham Angah who enjoyed the real power and did nothing to improve the administration. During the second term too he showed lack of initiative and enterprise and Akbar wisely deprived him of his control of finance and army by creating two new ministers, viz., the one in-charge of finance (Wazir) and the other in-charge of army (mir bakshni). Munim Khan's duplicity in May, 1566 undermined the prestige of his office as well as his personal reputation. By the time he was transferred to Jaunpur as governor, the prime minister's office had lost most of his office as well as his personal reputation. By the time he was transferred to Jaunpur as governor, the prime minister's office had lost most of its power and prestige. Hence forward its occupant enjoyed the nominal distinction of being the first minister of the Empire.¹

1 See Akbar the Great, Vol.II, A.L. Srivastava, pp. 44-54. ✓

After Munim Khan's transfer Akbar kept the post in abeyance and ~~there~~ was no prime minister for about six and a half year. This was probably due to two reasons. Munim Khan had not been formally dismissed from the prime minister's post and secondly no suitable man was ~~available~~ to fill the office. But the Empire had grown in size and the ^{work} of ^aministration had enormously increased. After the conquest and annexation of Gujarat, it became necessary to revive ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{starting on his} triumphant return from Ahmedabad, Akbar issued orders summoning to court Muzaffar Khan.¹ Muzaffar Khan called on the Emperor at Fatehpur Sikri and was appointed Wakil on November 18, 1573. But his term of office as prime minister, though an outstanding success, proved to be of a very short duration, as he declined to implement Akbar's scheme of fixing grades of mansabdars, introducing the branding of their horses and of converting the assigned territories (jagir land) into the crown land (khalisa land). Consequently, he was removed from the office within a few months of his appointment. After a little over three ~~year's~~ gap during which there was no Wakil, Akbar again invited Muzaffar Khan to full the post of Wakil. Muzaffar Khan had in the intervening period rendered valuable military

1 It will be recalled that Muzaffar Khan had incurred the imperial displeasure and was dismissed from finance minister's post and exiled to Mecca in 1572. Akbar, however, changed his mind and recalled him from exile. ✓

service in Bihar and had repented for his rigid and uncompromising attitude towards some of the imperial policies. Therefore, he waited on Akbar at Hans Mahal on the latter's way to Ajmer, he was reappointed Wakil in October, 1577. ✓

The Emperor showed him great respect and while he himself and other members of his party got down from their horses and walked one mile to the Khwajah's Shrine, he permitted Muzaffar Khan to ride on a led (kotal) horse of the establishment, and honour never before shown to any prime minister. Nevertheless, Muzaffar Khan did not exercise full powers of the office and had only nominal control over the finance department, which remained in the powerful hands of Rajah Todar Mal (who had since 1575 held the office of Super finance minister or Ashraf-i-diwan) and of Khwajah Shah Mansur (who was Wazir or diwan or finance minister). They were required to perform their duties in consultation with Muzaffar Khan. It seems that again in the highest office of the empire either he failed to come upto the Emperor's expectations or he could not carry on work in collaboration with his colleagues because he was appointed governor of Bengal, On March 14, 1579 and sent there. Thus his second term of office proved to be a short duration of one and a half year. Muzaffar Khan took it to be his demotion and accepted the post with reluctance. He remained dissatisfied and "did not exert himself, to manage the country and the

army... and always had the forehead of his heart full of wrinkles." He failed to control the situation and was murdered by the rebels on April, 19, 1580. ✓

On Muzaffar Khan's transfer as governor of Bengal in March, 1579 Akbar did not appoint any Wakil for full two years. The vacancy was filled in March, 1582 by the promotion of Todar Mal (who since October, 1575 had held the office of Ashraf-i-diwan, a post higher than revenue or finance minister but lower than that of Prime minister or Wakil) who had distinguished himself as a soldier and general, a diplomat and above all, as a financier. No other high official, not even Muzaffar Khan, was equally at home in all branches of administration as Todar Mal was. For several years he had been Akbar's adviser in matters of general administration and his appointment was well deserved.¹ ✓

Perhaps the appointment was not made in formal manner, that is, by investing, the Rajah with the robe of the

1 As early as 1573, Todar Mal was consulted by Akbar on the matters of introducing the branding system, fixation of grades, and the conversion of Jagir land into khalisa land. "Rajah Todar Mal used to submit," says Abul Fazl, "that it was a good idea that had entered his mind, and it was ~~xxx good idea that had entered~~ owing to the general want of understanding among men that the thing had not occurred to them. Assuredly most of the soliders would be loyal, and their zeal would be increased by this decision. But it was most probable that Munim Khan and Muzaffar Khan would not approve of the plan." A.N.III, Thus it is clear that the Rajah appreciated the reforms of Akbar and the later events show that, his opinion about the two high officials was correct.

office and presenting to him the pen case meant for the *Wakil*, as was traditionally done on the occasion of the appointment of a new prime minister. But it is certain that *Rajah Todar Mal* worked as prime minister or *Wakil* from March, 1582 till his death on November 8, 1589. This is clear from *Abul Fazl's* own words who writes "virtually the position of *Wakil* was conferred on him. Everything was referred to him, and a choice ordering of administrative and financial matters was the result".¹ The *Rajah* worked whole-heartedly and proved an eminent success. *Abul Fazl*, who was not quite happy with him, was constrained to write, 'By the blessing of a happy fate he (*Todar Mal*) sullied not the skirt of wish, but regarded what was good for the state and acquired an ever-lasting good name. With a stout heart he maintained the laws of the caliphate, and had no fear of the powerful and crafty.'²

Towards the end of October, 1589 *Todar Mal* was at his own request permitted to retire and spend his last days in worship and meditation at *Hardwar* (a place of pilgrimage). But he was considered more or less indispensable. *Akbar*, therefore, rescinded his orders and recalled *Todar Mal*. But

1 A.N.III(Tr.)p. 561. Fr. Text. III, p. 381; Also see *Akbar the Great*, Vol.II, pp. 52-53, by A.L.Srivastava.

2 A.N.III(Fr.Text) p. 381.

the Rajah died on November 3, 1589, within a fortnight of his return to duty.

Todar Mal may be said to have been the last great prime minister of Akbar's reign. After his death Akbar raised Abdur Rahim, Khan-i-Khanan to the dignity of prime-minister at the end of December 1589. But the new prime minister did not enjoy real powers of the office. His appointment was a mark of distinction and an act of personal favour. Nevertheless he continued in this office for about Five and a half years. On April 19, 1595 Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Kokah, Akbar's faster brother was raised to the post of Wakil (Prime minister). He continued to hold the post till Akbar's death in October, 1605. But he too, like Abdurrahim did not play any important role in the work of administration. The Wakil who in the beginning of Akbar's reign, had enjoyed unlimited authority, political, military, financial and administrative was gradually deprived of power. At the end of Akbar's reign, the Wakil's post became more or less honorific and though he enjoyed dignity and prestige, he became a mere shadow of his former self.¹

1 Abul Fazl describes the duties of the Wakil in Ain Vol.I (Tr.) pp 4-5, (Pr.Text 2nd edition) p.5. *v*

We find that only the great amirs were appointed to the post of Wakil. No Wakil was below the ranks of Panjhaxari or a mansabdar of 5000.¹ No difference was made on the basis of religion. The ^{Iranis} ~~gains~~, the Turanis and even a Hindu rose to the dignity of the being the first minister of the Empire.

Wazir or Diwan (Finance Minister): As has been mentioned above there was no separate minister for finance during the first few years of Akbar's reign. Sometime in 1560 when ~~Rax~~ Bairam Khan was in disgrace, Akbar raised Khwajah Abdul Majid to the title of Asaf Khan and appointed him Wazir or diwan. As he was not able to reorganise the finance department and his inept handling of affairs made confusion worse confounded, he was transferred as collector of Kara in 1562.² The first step taken in the direction of the establishment of the department of Wazarat was the establishment of the diwanship of khalisa land (crown land). Sometime about the middle of 1562 Itimad Khan was appointed diwan of khalisa territory. He was a man of ~~humble~~ humble origin and

1 Rajah Todar Mal is included among the mansabdars of 4000 in the list of Abul Fazl but the Tabaqat makes him a mansabdar of 5000. Abul Fazl gives the following names as Wakis Or Prime-ministers: Bairam Khan (No.10), Munim Khan (No.11), Atgah Khan (No.15), Bahadur Khan (No.22); Khwajah Jahan (No.10); Khan Khanan Mirza Khan (No.29); ~~Khwajah Jahan~~ Khan-i-Azam Mirza Khan Kokah (No.21) - See Aim I (Tr.) p. 595.

2 10341 II p. 191

had been in his early days in the service of Islam Shah Sur.¹ Akbar recognised his ability and brought him from oblivion and conferred upon him the title of Itimad Khan. Itimad Khan placed the administration of the khalisa territory on sound foundation and affected great economy in expenditure. The next step taken by the Emperor was the appointment of a full fledged finance or revenue minister (Wazir or diwan-i-Kul) in the end of 1563, who was placed in charge of both the khalisa and jagir territories. This new post of Wazir was conferred upon Muzaffar Khan who had acted successfully, first as collector of Pasrur (in the Sialkot district) and subsequently as superintendent of imperial stores (diwan-i-bayutat) and had considerable experience of the working of the revenue department². Muzaffar Khan was an able financier and soon acquired power and influence. It was on his recommendation that Shaikh Abdur Nabi was appointed Sadr (minister of ecclesiastical and judicial affairs). It was Muzaffar Khan's confidential report that brought about in 1566 the disgrace of the Wakil (Prime Minister) Munim Khan and Khwajah Jahan, the ~~supre~~ superintendent of treasury and the keeper of the royal seal. During his ministry of eight years and a half (1563-72) Muzaffar Khan carried out several financial reforms and

1 He was an eunuch named Bahlol or Phul Malik.

2 Masam. i. Rahimi vol I p. 719

greatly consolidated his position and that of his ministry. Under him the department of Wazarat eclipsed the Wakalat. This was in confirmity with Akbar's policy of raising the status of the Wazir and abasing that of the Wakil. He honoured Muzaffar Khan, the Wazir by accepting an invitation of an entertainment at his newly constructed mansion at Agra. On account of Akbar's favour, Muzaffar Khan was soon intoxicated with power and began to think himself indispensable. He fell out of favour and was removed from his office about the middle of 1572 and exiled to Mecca. But soon after Akbar forgave him and recalled him and re-appointed him diwan(1573).¹ Besides being given the charge of finance, he was this time appointed Wakil also. But he was again removed after nearly one and a half year because he declined to carry out certain military and financial reforms.

Todar Mal was associated with the finance ministry for several years before he was appointed diwan of Gujarat in 1573. He is for the first time mentioned as a Wazir in connection with the siege of Ranthambhor in March 1569.² Abul Fazl writes " for greater security Rajah Todar Mal who had

1 It seem probable that Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan who was appointed diwan of the khalisa in 1568 in place of Itimad Khan, after Muzaffar Khan's dismissal, officiated as diwan-i-kul. The ministry of finance consisted of two wings, diwan-i-khalisa and diwan-i-jagir and both these were under the diwan-i-kul or wazir.

2. The author of the *Iqbalnama* says in the account of 14th RY. (1569-70) that Todar Mal was the absolute wazir in this period.
Iqbal II P. 234.

the control of the Wazirship was also employed in this service." In September, 1573 he was appointed diwan of Gujarat but not of the whole empire. After his return from Gujarat sometime in 1573 Rajah Todar Mal was appointed full-fledged Wazir of the empire. This is clear from what Abul Fazl says in connection with Rai Ram Das's appointment as deputy diwan in February, 1574. "An order was issued, says he, "that the officials should as before be Rajah Todar Mal's men so that neither should the affairs of the diwani suffer by the Rajah's absence, nor the writing of dismissal (from diwanship) be applied to him, and that the confidence of service rendered might be maintained." It makes it clear that Todar Mal had been appointed diwan (finance minister) before February 1574 and that he was allowed to retain the post even after he was sent on military duties to Bengal. In October 1575, ~~the~~ (Rajah Todar Mal) was appointed mushrif-i-diwan, a post higher than that of finance minister but lower than that of the prime minister.¹ Abul Fazl says that "financial and territorial matters were entrusted to him and he was made mushrif-i-diwan. He served with honesty and absence of avarice."² But the rajah was spiteful and revengeful "such a quality is considered by the wise to be

1 See Ain. Vol. I (2nd ed.) p. 6. Mushrif-i-diwan and Ashraf-i-diwan are synonymous terms. ✓

2 A.N. Vol. III (Tr.) pp. 223.

one of the worst qualities in a man especially in an administrator to whom men's affairs are entrusted and who has been selected as the Wakil of such a World-Lord."¹

A new finance minister or Wazir namely Khwajah Shah Mansur was appointed in November, 1576. Obviously the Khwajah was to work under Rajah Todar Mal.² But when Muzaffar Khan was appointed Wakil or prime minister in October, 1577 both the Rajah and the Khwajah became his subordinates.³ Thus there came to be an unusual combination of three financiers of great ability and experience. ✓

Akbar took advantage of this combination and held consultations with them in November, 1577 to discuss measures for the improvement of administration of finance. The first subject discussed was the reform of mint and coinage. The royal mints were placed in charge of top-ranking officials Khwajah Abdug Samad Shirin Qalam was appointed director of the royal mints and given direct charge of the mint at Fatehpur Sikri. The charge of Lahore mint was

1 A.N. Vol.III)Pr.Text)p.158; (Tr.) p.223.

It seems due to jealousy or personal disliking, Abul Fazl has omitted the name of Rajah Todar Mal from the list given by him in the Ain who were Wakils of the Empire. In Akbarnamah, himself has described him as Wakil. ✓ On several occasions. Following the Ain neither Ibn Hasan ~~does~~ not include Todar Mal among Akbar's Wakils nor R.P. Tripathi mentions the Rajah's name in some aspects of Muslim Administration. In Oct. 1575 Rajah Todar Mal was appointed mushrif-i-diwan and in March 1582 he was promoted to a higher post what was that higher post, if it was not Wakalat or prime ministership? or during the reign of Akbar no post higher than that of Mushrif-i-diwan except Wakalat? See Ain. Vol.1(2nd ed.)p. 6. ✓

2 'In accordance with former arrangements the settlement of the affairs of Wazirship was made by him(the rajah).
A.N. Vol.III(Tr.)p.

given to Muzaffar Khan, that of Bengal to Rajah Todar Mal, of Jaunpur to Khwajah Shah Mansur, of Gujarat to Khwajah Imaduddin Husain and of Patna to Asaf Khan. This extraordinary talented ministry brokeup when the Wakil Muzaffar Khan was appointed governor of Bengal and was sent to that province on March 15, 1579.

The finance ministry under Todar Mal and Khwajah Shah Mansur divided the empire into twelve provinces to each of which a governor (sipah salar), a diwan, a bakshi, a mir adl, a sadr, a kotwal, a mirbahr (admiral) and recorder (waqayanawis) were appointed. The famous ten year revenue settlement (am-i-dahsala) was formulated and enforced. This measure was planned by the two ministers but as Rajah Todar Mal was sent to Bihar in March, 1580, it was implemented by Shah Mansur. For about 4 months (during the absence of Todar Mal) Khwajah Shah Mansur was in sole charge of the finance ministry. He cut down the allowances of troops in Bihar and Bengal and enforced the reduced with retrospective with effect. This became one of the causes of widespread rebellion in Bengal and Bihar. On Todar Mal's recommendation, the Khwajah was dismissed from Wazirship and placed under the custody of Shah Quli Mahram and about the

In the 21st Ry. when Shah Mansur was made Wazir, MUZAFFAR KHAN who was (contd..) a dictator Diwan came to know of Shah's wisdom and depth of knowledge, he became jealous and began to down him. JQBAL II 311.

- 3 'Rajah Todar Mal and Khwajah Shah Mansur were ordered to perform their duties in consultation with him (Muzaffar Khan). ~~Muzaffar Khan~~ One day in the assembly, MUZAFFAR Khan clearly said that if Shah Mansur interfered he would separate himself from him. Thereupon Shah went to Jaunpur and joined the service of Munim Khan. After the death of Munim Khan, Akbar called him in Ameer and again appointed the Shah on the post of Wazir. JQBAL II 312.

middle of August 1580 Wazir Khan was appointed to take his place.¹ But within a few months Shah Mansur was released and reappointed¹ ✓ and Wazir Khan who was acting as Wazir was sent to take charge of the governorship of Awadh (November, 1580). But in February, 1581, Shah Mansur was again suspended and soon after executed ✓ on the charge of treason. Qulij Khan was then appointed wazir and Zain Khan Kokah and Hakim Abul Falh were also ordered to be present in the Wazir's office and superintend matters.² This arrangement did not last long as Todar Mal on his return from the eastern provinces resumed charge as finance minister in September, 1581.³ ✓ It seem that thoughx Todar Mal was often sent out on military duties, but he laways retained his lien as a finance minister and someone was appointed to officiate during his absence and he continued to be associated with the ministry of finance in one capacity or another till his death in 1589. In April, 1582, Todar Mal was appointed Prime minister or Wakil.⁴ ✓

When Akbar started on his first visit to Kashmir on the 28th April, 1589 Rajah Todar Mal alongwith Rajah Bhagwant Das and Qulij Khan was left in charge of the central government in Lahore. On November 8, 1589 Rajah Todar Mal died

1 q AN III Tr. P. 461-62

1 Abul Fazl says 'As it appeared that in the working of accounts and demanding of arrears there was no fault of the Khwajah's except the thought of increasing the revenue and a failure to recognise the circumstances of the time, he was again exalted to that high office.'

-A.N. Vol. III (Tr.)

2. Jghal II P. 346 AN III (Tr.) PP 501-504

3. A.N. III Tr. P 545

4. Ibid PP 520-61 ✓

in Lahore.¹ After his death Akbar appointed on November 15, 1589 Khwajah Shamsuddin to the post of Wazir or finance minister and in June next, year Qazi Ali Baghadadi was promoted to the post of nazir bayutat. On February 12, 1592 the entire ^{Khalisa} crown territory was divided into four zones to facilitate the revenue administration and each was placed under an able officer. All the zones continued to function under the charge of the new Wazir Qulij Khan, who seems to have taken over from Khwajah Shamsuddin in June, 1590. In June 1594 collectors of the khalisa and jagir territories and ^{assayers} ~~mayers~~ of the mints were summoned to court and directed to fix weights of the various kinds of coins and their relative values. This work was undertaken under the supervision of Khwajah Shamsuddin in two months time.

On August 15, 1594 there was a further change in finance ministry. Finance minister or Wazir Qulij Khan was at this time appointed governor of Kabul and Khwajah Shamsuddin again became Wazir. The work of realisation of customs duties was reorganised. The territory from Lahore to Hindu Koh was placed in respect of this work under Zain Khan Koka; that from Lahore to Lower Bengal under Daulat Khan; from Lahore to Gujarat under Ram Das Kachhwaha; from Lahore to Zahin Dawar under Daulat Khurd and from Delhi to Awadh under Miyan Khanu.² ✓

1. The author of the Masin says that in 34 R.Y. Raja Todar Mal who was Wazir - i.e. - Sultanate and Muzirif - i.e. - diwan died.
Masin - i. Rahimi vol II p. 920.

In June, 1598 Rai Patr Das who had a great experience in revenue administration as a provincial Diwan, was raised to the office of diwan at the centre and it was decided that he should work jointly with Khawajah Shamsuddin. An order was given says Abul Fazl, "that as in the case of Muzaffar Khan and Rajah Todar Mal, he (Patr Das) and Khwajah Shamsuddin should help one another in carrying on the work." But soon afterwards the Khwajah was transferred to the governorship of Punjab and Patr Das became the sole Wazir of the empire. Patr Das had hardly worked as a wazir for about a year, when on report that he took bribes and vexed the people, he was removed from the finance ministry in August, 1599 and was sent to deal with the Rajah of Bhatha. Asaf Khan II was now appointed wazir or diwan-i-kul. Qulij Khan became mir mal but he could not function in this office for long.

The last important change in the finance department was the appointment of Muqim, who was then diwan-i-bayutat, ^{of Asaf Khan and he was given the title of Wazir Khan} to the office of wazir or diwan-i-kul in place. The office of diwan-i-bayutat was conferred on Muiz. The final step taken by Akbar was the placing of the department of finance (wazarat) under Prince Sultan Salim. Abul Fazl writes "An order was given that the diwans should manage the affairs of the kingdom with the advice of Prince Sultan Salim and that, his seal should be affixed to the grants of officer's mansabs."

The study of wazarat under Akbar throws light on the fact that the Emperor promoted to the post of Wazir or diwan-i-kul (finance minister of the empire). Only those officers who had sufficient knowledge of revenue administration and had already given proof of their ability. Able and experienced financiers alone were raised to such dignity. Another interesting feature to note is that two ~~PA~~ Hindus attained the honour of being diwan-i-kul- one Rajah Todar Mal and the other Rai Patr Das.¹ ✓

Mir Bakshi : The mir bakshi (army minister) was required to possess literary as well as military qualifications, for besides being in charge of recruitment of troops, their equipment and discipline, he had regular office work like other ministers. His rank was next to that of the Wazir . He was the pay-master general of the army and had to keep a register of all the mansabdars who were employed on civil or military duties. The Mir Bakshi² ✓ was not the

1 In the list of the Ain, Abul Fazl mentions the following names who had been the Wazir or finance minister upto the 40th year of the reign. - Mir Azizullah Turbati; Khwajah Jalaluddin Mahmud of Khurasan (No.65); Khwajah Muinuddin Farankhudi (No.128); Khwajah Abdul Majid Asaf Khan (No.49) Wazir Khan (No.41); Muzaffar Khan (No.37); Rajah Todar Mal (No.39); Khwajah Shah Mansur of Shiraz (No.122); Qulij Khan (No.42); Khwajah Shamsuddin Khawfi (No.159). Ain. Vol.I (Tr.) p.595.

2 As the work of the department increased considerably due to the expansion of the empire, more than one bakshi was appointed to assist the Mir bakshi. There also used to be a bakhshi of the army. When an expedition was sent, a bakhshi was appointed who was placed in charge of the army, commissioned for that campaign and he was called bakhshi-i-lashkar. There was a separate bakhshi for Ahadi troops. There was two other kinds of bakhshis known as Bakhshi-i-Huzur Bakhshi-i-Shagird Pesha. ✓

commander-~~in~~ⁱⁿ-chief of the forces, but he was sometimes required to conduct important military operations. He accompanied the king on his tours and looked to the arrangements of the royal camp, especially the allotment of places therein to the mansabdars. The first mention of Mir bakhshi in Akbarnamah occurs in connection with the events of March 1565, when Lashkar Khan, Mir bakhshi was sent to Garha to demand from Asaf Khan the war elephants and other valuable booty that had fallen into his hands in Gondwana. An order was issued that khwajah Ghiyasuddin Ali of Qazwin should act for Lashkar Khan during his absence, "Apparently Lashkar Khan must have been appointed to the post of mir bakhshi before March 1565. He took part in the fight against the Uzbeks in the same year but in April 1566 he was removed from the post of mir bakhshi on account of his slackness in the suppression of the Uzbek rebellion and his duplicity in the peace talk that followed. He was however, pardoned some time after and restored to his office. He must have discharged his duties satisfactorily, for we find him in 1571 holding the office of mir arzi in addition to that of ~~mir~~ bakhshi. In July, 1571 he came drunk to the court and created a disturbance, Akbar was highly ~~enraged~~ ~~enraged~~ and ordered him to be tied to horse's tail, and led round in that condition. He was deprived of his office and sent to prison. In September, 1572 he was released and reappointed mir bakhshi. He seems to have suffered an eclipse once again, for we find Shahbaz Khan acting as mir bakhshi during Akbar's campaign against Ibrahim Husain Mirza

in Gujarat. But Lashkar Khan again figures as mir bakhshi when he along with Parmanand led the imperial advance troops for the conquest of Bihar and Bengal in October, 1573. In fact he ceased to be army minister after he had left for Patna and Shahbaz Khan took his place immediately after. Hence forward Lashkar Khan worked in the eastern provinces far away from the court. He fought bravely in the battle with Daud and died of wounds in 1575. Lashkar Khan seems to have been a good soldier but not a general or organiser of outstanding ability. He did not play any conspicuous role either at court or in the battle field.

The next notable mir bakshi of the reign was Shahbaz Khan Kambu. His first important employment was as Mir Tuzuk (person in charge of royal processions) (1572). During Lashkar Khan's eclipse, he seems to have officiated as mir bakhshi from July, 1571 to September, 1572. In this capacity he accompanied Akbar on the Gujarat expedition in 1572 and after the conquest he was sent to Ahmadabad to bring the Gujarati nobles, whose loyalty was not above suspicion, to the royal camp. After the battle of Sarnal in December 1572, he was chastised for his negligence on account of which Mahmud, son of Sikandar Sur, had succeeded in escaping from his custody and fleeing to the Deccan. 2

In 1573 Shahabaz Khan was formally appointed mirā bakhshi of the empire and in 1575 he was entrusted with the important administrative duty of enforcing military regulations relating to the reorganisation of the army and the branding of horses and of converting jagir lands into the khalisa territory. His services in this work seem to have won Akbar's appreciation.

But Shahbaz Khan was more at ^{home} ~~home~~ in the battle-field than in the paper work (official closet) and therefore, we find him in active service in many parts of the country. In 1576 he captured the strong fort of Siwana in Marwar from Chandra Sen Rathor who had defied one after another three imperial commanders of the stature of Shah Quli Khan Mohram, Rai Rai Singh and Jalal Khan Qurchi. In June of the same year he was despatched to Bihar where he suppressed the rebellion of Gajapati of Jagdishpur and captured the forts of Rohtas and Shergarh. He was commissioned to lead one after another, four expeditions, to Mewar- in 1577-78, 1578-79, 1579-80 and 1599. Of these the second was very successful and Shahbaz was able to capture the impregnable fortress of Kumbhalgarh and recover Gogunda and Udaipur. After the conclusion of the third expedition he was sent in 1580 to fight the Bihar and Bengal rebels. Although he defeated Arak Bahadur and Dalpat Ujjainiya, he made delay in making over Hajipur to the governor, Khan-i-Azam. Being

an orthodox Sunni he was at heart sympathetic to the rebels, but he soon realised the mistake and returned to duty. In January 1582 he was imprisoned and placed under the custody of Raisal Darbari on account of his insolent behaviour, but was released at the intercession of Abul Fazl in September, October of the same year and soon after deputed to Bengal to suppress the rebellion of Masum Kabuli and restore peace in that ~~xxx~~ provinces. In September, 1589 he was directed to proceed to Swat to punish the remnant of the Yusufzai rebels, but he returned to camp without fully accomplishing the task. He was, therefore, sent to prison on December 27, 1590 and was released in June, 1593. He then served under Shahrukh Mirza and Prince Murad in the Deccan and took part in the siege of Ahmadnagar. His last important assignment was in Mewar where he was required to accompany Salim in June, 1599. He died at Ajmer on November 11, 1599.

Shahbaz Khan was an able soldier and general and a successful army minister. He was also a good organiser and administrator. He elaborated military regulations and enforced them rigidly and rapidly.

The third important mir bakhshi of the reign was Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. He belonged to a distinguished family and his father and grand father had held high posts in the reigns of Babur and Humayun. His first important employment was that of diwan of Gujarat in which capacity he did excellent work and maintained the regulations devised and enforced by Todar Mal.

In 1583 he was appointed bakhshi of Gujarat, where he saw a great deal of fighting against Muzaffar III. In 1585 the governor Khan-i-Khanan deputed him to the Deccan but he had to return very soon. In February 1592 he was entrusted with the revenue administration of one of the four zones, namely that of Ajmer, Gujarat and Malwa, into which the Empire was then divided, in addition to his duties as Bakshi of Gujarat.

Nizamuddin played an important part in the suppression of Muzaffar's ever recurring rebellion. His services were rewarded and his rank was raised. He was summoned to court at the end of November 1589 and on March 21, 1592 he was promoted to the post of mir bakhshi vice Jaafar Beg Asaf Khan, who was sent against the Raushaniya leader Jalala. He soon won the good opinion of the Emperor, but unfortunately his promising life was cut short by premature death. He died of fever on November 7, 1594 at the age of 45.

Nizamuddin Ahmad was a good soldier and a brilliant scholar. His *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* is a work of great literary and historical merit. Badauni says that he won the appreciation of the Emperor and acquired an ascendancy at the court on account of his ability, loyalty and diligence and his balanced approach to problems of administration. He could

not see eye to eye with Qulij Khan, the wazir who had to suffer an eclipse, owing to the superior talents of the mir bakhshi.

Shaikh Farid Bakhari, who ^{succeeded Nizamuddin Ahmad was Akbar's last} mir bakhshi. He was a saiyyad whose ancestors came originally from Bokhara and belonged to a family of religious divines. He took up service under Akbar at an early age and rose to the mansab of 4000 zat and 2000 sawar. He fought in Bengal and Orissa and was deputed by the governor Khan-i-Azam to conduct negotiations with Qutlu Afghan of Orissa where he narrowly escaped imprisonment on account of a conspiracy hatched by Bahadur Kuroh. He won the appreciation of the Emperor who honoured him by accepting an invitation of entertainment at his residence in Delhi in 1585. He was sent to fight the Raushaniya rebels. He accompanied Akbar to Kashmir and fought the Kashmir rebel Yadgar. In September 1594 he was associated with Asaf Khan in the duties of bakhshi and received orders to reduce to submission the rebellious rajahs of the hilly districts north of the Punjab. He succeeded in subduing the Rajahs of Jammu, Ramgarh, Jasrana, Lakhanpur, Mau, Nagarkot etc. who accepted Akbar's suzerainty. In November, 1594 he was appointed mir bakhshi. Farid was sent to Burhanpur to persuade the rebellious king Bahadur Khan of Khandesh to submit but he failed to bring him round and was, therefore, directed to besiege Asirgarh. ✓ He rendered

valuable service at the siege. Sometime after Akbar's return to Agra Shaikh Farid was promoted to 4000 zat and 2000 sawar and was given a flag and a drum.

The most notable work of Shaikh Farid was to foil the conspiracy against Prince Salim by declining to join Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Kokah in support of Prince Khusrau and by proceeding to place his entire army at the disposal of the heir apparent. This prevented a civil war and brought about the peaceful accession of Prince Salim (Jahangir).

But the list given by Abul Fazl in the Ain is misleading.¹ Some of the names mentioned by him in this list find no place either in the Akbarnamah or in any other contemporary works of the reign. The bakhshis appointed from time to time either to officiate for permanent incumbent (on leave or on military duties away from the capital) or to act in a temporary capacity were Rai Purukhotam (who was appointed bakhshi in June 1574); Qazi Ali Baghdadi, Jafar Beg Asaf Khan and Khwajah Ghiyasuddin

1 Abul Fazl gives the following names who had been appointed as bakhshis: Khwajah Jahan (No. 110); Khwajah Tahir of Sijistan (No. 111); Maulana Habi Bihzadi; Maulana Darwisk Mohammad of Mashhad; Maulana Ishqi; Muqim of Khurasan (No. 410); Sultan Mahmud of Badakhshan; Lashkar Khan (No. 90); Shahbaz Khan (No. 80); Ray Purushotam; Shaikh Farid Bukhari (No. 99); Qazi Ali of Baghdad; Jafar Beg Asaf Khan (No. 98); Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad; Khwajagi Fathullah (No. 258).—Ain (Tr.) I, pp. 595-96.

Ali Qazwini. Most of the bakhshis of the reign were soldiers by training and profession.¹

Sadr: The Sadr enjoyed great prestige and was indispensable in an Islamic state. From among the Ulama (theologians) one was selected who was termed as Shaikhul Islam. He was also known as Qazi-ul-quzat (the Chief Qazi), Sadr-i-Jahan (Chief of the world) or Sadr-us-Sudur (chief of the Ulama), or simply Sadr (chief). He was minister of ecclesiastical and judicial affairs. ✓

During the first twenty-two years of Akbar's reign there were four Sadrs and all of them were orthodox Muslims. The first of these was Shaikh Gadai Kambu, a learned Shia divine, who was raised to the post of Sadr by Bairam Khan soon after Akbar's accession. The Shaikh was a very learned man and also a possessor of considerable gifts. He continued to hold the office of Sadr until his patron's dismissal in 1560. Both Bairam Khan and Akbar often attended his religious discourses and held him in high esteem. During his tenure of office he not only enjoyed unfettered authority in ecclesiastical matters of which he was minister, but he had also a voice in all other affairs of the state, whether political, financial or military. Bairam Khan invariably consulted him, ✓

1 Akbar the Great, Vol.II, pp. 74-75 by A.L.Srivastava. ✓

before taking action in the work of administration. The Shaikh wielded full powers of bestowing subsistence allowances and grants of land to Muslim divines, scholars and med^{ic}ants. He deprived many former recipients, particularly Afghans, of their grants and bestowed them on those who behaved subserviently and were Sha^{ih}'s like himself.

Not being a man of strong sense of loyalty and gratefulness Shaikh Gadai deserted his patron Bairam Khan immediately after the latter's downfall, and like most other officers hastened to Delhi to join the Emperor. Akbar received him with courtesy but did not confirm the Shaikh in the office of Sadr, because of the unpopularity he had earned on account of his vanity and unbridled use of authority.

After the disgrace of Shaikh Gadai, Maulana Abdul Baqi was appointed Sadr, which office he had held during the reign of Humayun. He was raised to the office probably in September, 1560 when he had arrived from Kabul along with several other notable officers. We are in the dark about his powers and achievements, but in personal and official integrity he was certainly not above suspicion. He seems to have worked in this capacity till 1562. ✓

Abdul Baqi was succeeded in the office of the Sadr by Khwajah Mohammad Salah, grandson of the famous Abdullah Marwaridi early in 1562. He continued to act as Sadr till 1563-64. But he did not possess independent powers in the

matter of grants of jagirs to religious men, without the concurrence of the officers of the ^{revenue} ~~revenue~~ department. In religious matters however, he seems to have wielded full authority. He died at Delhi in June, 1598.

Shaikh Abdun Nabi was the most celebrated Sadr of Akbar's reign. As there was a great deal of corruption in the ecclesiastical and religious department and all the previous Sadrs were guilty of bribery and malpractices, Akbar was in search of a man of ability and integrity and therefore, on the recommendation of the revenue minister Muzaffar Khan, he raised Abdun Nabi to the office of the Sadr sometime in 1565 and he continued to work in this capacity till the end of 1578. He was an extremely bigoted Sunni and was responsible for persecuting a large number of Muslim heretics, particularly Shias. In the beginning, he enjoyed great reputation as a scholar and saintly person, and Akbar not only attended his discourses, but once or twice reverently picked up the Shaikh's shoes and placed them before his feet. In all matters relating to religion and in that of subsistence allowances and grant of jagirs for charitable purposes he wielded full authority. Badaoni writes, when he was appointed Sadr-us-Sudur, he distributed enormous areas of land to the people as madad-i-maash, pensions and religious endowments, and never was there in the reign of any monarch, a Sadr-us Sudur so powerful as Shaikh Abdun Nabi, or one

who alienated ~~the~~ tenth part of what he did in religious endowments."¹ ✓

Shaikh Abdun Nabi was religious only in the formal sense of the term. He was in fact very worldly, greedy of money, fond of power, and shallow in learning. The shallowness of his knowledge was exposed in the discussions at the Ibadat Khana, where he committed fallacy after fallacy and often contradicted himself. Akbar became disgusted with him and when his bribery, mismanagement and rapacity were revealed in an enquiry into the grant of land that he had made, Akbar lost faith in his honesty. The Shaikh's bigotry in putting a Brahman of Mathura to death^m the alleged charge of blasphemy alienated the Emperor's sympathy and paved the way for his downfall. In 1579 he was exiled to Mecca, and on return from there without permission, he was imprisoned and placed in the custody of Abul Fazl. He died in prison in 1583. It is said that he was strangled one night.

On enquiry Akbar found that many grantees did not have all their land in one place and they were harassed by revenue officers and the agents of powerful jagirdars. Moreover some grasping persons had encroached upon the Khalisa territory. Akbar, therefore, decided to curtail the

1 Muntakhabut Tawarikh, Vol.III(Pr.Text.) p.80. ✓

powers of the Sadr. He ordered that aima (free grant) land should not be mixed up with khalisa lands or jagir lands. After a due enquiry into the titles to the grantees, he assigned to each grantee all his land in one place. Those who were in illegal possession of land were deprived of their assignments and that land was converted into khalisa territory. Able officers were appointed in every province and district to enforce these reforms. In January 1578, Akbar decided to appoint provincial Sadrs, who were to be in charge of land ⁱⁿ free grants and cash allowances in their respective provinces. Earlier there used to be one Sadr for the whole empire. With the appointment of provincial Sadr, the powers of the Chief Sadr were considerably reduced and in order to distinguish him from the provincial Sadrs, he was termed as Sadr-us-Sudur or the Chief Sadr. He stopped taking advice from the Orthodox Ulema and naturally the Chief Sadr ceased to be his supreme religious adviser. It was now not necessary for the Chief Sadr to be the upholder of Islamic Law or even himself to be deeply learned in Islamic theology. Akbar clipped the powers of the chief sadr to the extent that his recommendation was not necessary for the grant of scholarships and religious jagirs. Akbar prescribed qualifications of eligibility of holding lands and stipends and conferred power on other important courtiers to bring deserving cases to the Emperor's notice. Now it was

not necessary that petitions for free grant of land should go to the Emperor through the Chief Sadr only. At the same time all those grantees who held more than 500 bighas of land were directed to bring their grant deeds for the Emperor's personal inspection, failing which they were to be deprived of their lands. As most of the grantees were found unworthy, those holding 100 bighas or more, if unspecified in their grant deeds, were to lose three fifths of it. But the Irani and Turani women were exempted from this general rule. All those who had abandoned their old land and taken possession of new land were made to resign one-fourth of it to the state.

Early in 1579, Abdun Nabi who was found guilty of malpractices was dismissed from the post of the Sadr. By this time Akbar had completely overhauled the judicial and ecclesiastical department and the chief Sadr was no longer to be an orthodox muslim, much less the Shaikhu-ul-Islam, who could not take broad views and did not function for the entire Indian community. The Emperor was keen that deserving Hindu scholars and religious divines should also be made beneficiaries. Hence he decided to appoint a man of tolerant view and broad vision to the office of Sadr. Therefore, he appointed Sultan Khwajah, a liberal Muslim and a member of the Din-i-Ilahi, who had recently returned from Mecca to the post of Sadr in January, 1579 and was given the title of Tarkhan!

In October 1581, Akabar further curtailed the powers of the Chief Sadr and appointed honest and experienced men to look after the administration of free grant lands of the empire. For this purpose the empire was divided into six zones with a Sadr in charge of each. The provinces of Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat were placed under the Hakim Abul Fath; those of Agra, Kalpi and Kalinjar under Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi (Older brother of Shaikh Abul Fazl); the country from Hajipur to the Sarju under Hakim Humam; Bihar under Hakim Ali; Bengal under Hakim Ainulmulk and the Punjab under Qazi Ali Bakshi (Baghdad). The Chief Sadr continued to be there but he was no longer Shaikh-ul-Islam and the principal interpreter of the Muslim law.

Sultan Khwajah died at Fatehpur Sikri on July 25, 1584 and Mir Fathullah Shirazi was appointed to succeed him. But as he was sent on political missions to the Deccan, the duties of the Sadr's office devolved on his assistant, named Kamal. The powers of the Sadr suffered further, diminution. Akbar directed Mir Fathullah that he should not grant more than 15 bighas of land without his permission. We are told by Badaoni that Mir Fathullah did not have the power of conferring even five bighas of land, he was in fact an imaginary Sadr.¹ On Mir Fathullah's death in August

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II, p. 343 (Pr. Text).

In the 31st A.Y. MIR FATHULLAH SHIRAZI was given the title of AZD-ud-daulah and the Sadarat of whole Hindustan, an inam of Rs 5000, 1000 horse and a khilat. In the same year he was sent with Khan-i-Azam to Deccan. MAARIF-i-RAHIMI PP 905, 907.

1589, Akbar appointed Sadr-i-Jahan as Sadr of the empire. He was a member of the Din-i-Ilahi and consequently, a man of liberal and tolerant views. The Sadr of Akbar's later days was no longer the head of the Ulama and the Chief interpreter of the Muslim law. He no longer exercised effective moral control over the Emperor's private life and over his religious opinions and conduct. Most of the old qazis who were found corrupt and were notorious in taking bribes from the grant holders were dismissed.¹ Sadr-i-Jahan ~~was~~ was the last Sadr of Akbar's reign and continued ~~the~~ to ~~ecclesiastical department~~ work as such to the end of his reign.² ✓

ecclesiastical department from the Judicial department

It seems Akbar separated, Sadr remained the head of ecclesiastical department as before and a separate minister to be in charge of the judicial department was appointed. Sadr was no longer the Qazi-ul-Qujat. Earlier the Sadr was the Chief Qazi or Qazi-ul-Qujat and in this capacity ~~only~~ he was the second highest judicial authority, next only to the Emperor, who held court and decided cases, usually

1 Abul Fazl mentions the following names who been Sadrs upto the 40th year of Akbar's reign: Mir Fathullah; ~~Say~~ Saykh Gadai, son of Shaykh Jamal Kambu; Khwajagi Mohammad Salih, descendent in the third generation from Khwaja Abdullah Marwarid, Maulana Abdul Baqi; Shaikh Abdun-Nabi; Sultan Khwajah (No.108); Sadr-i-Jahan (No.194).

2 See Ain. Vol.I (Tr.) pp. 522-23. He had been a mansabdar of 700 upto the 4th year of Akbar's reign but later he got a mansab of 2000. During the reign of Jahangir, Sadr-i-Jahan was promoted to the rank of 4000 and received Qannauj as jagir. Under Jahangir he is said to have given away more lands in five years than under Akbar in fifty. He died in 1020 A.H., at the age, it is believed of 120 years.

the appeals from the Chief qazi's court. In this capacity the Chief Sadr recommended candidates for appointment to the posts^{of} provincial, district and city Qazis. When Sadr-i-Jahan returned in the 34th year of the reign from an embassy to the ruler of Turan, and he was appointed Sadr of the empire, it seems probable that he was not given the charge of the judicial department. This further curtailed the powers of the Sadr. The judicial department was placed in charge of Mir Abdul Hay, Mir Adl and he was appointed Qazi-ul-Qazat or Chief Justice of the Empire. A passage given in the Ain-i-Akbari confirms the above statement. " In the 35th year, at the feast of Abanmah, the court witnessed a curious spectacle. The Sadr and Mir Abdul Hay (No.230), the Chief Justice of the empire, took part in a drinking feast and Akbar was so amused at seeing his ecclesiastical and judicial dignitaries over their cups."¹ ✓

Akbar followed a policy of checks and balances and made the ministers inter-dependent in matters of administration and all of them dependent upon the will of the Emperor. First, he clipped the powers of the Prime Minister and reduced him to a figure head. The Finance minister who was once a subordinate of the Prime Minister, was pulled up to a position of equality with him and in the matter of enjoyment of substantial powers even^{to} one of superiority. The army minister came next in importance and the ecclesiastical and judicial minister who had once enjoyed the highest influence and respect was made to sink to a deplorably low status.

1. Ain. Vol I (Tr.) p.522.

Besides his ministers, Akbar had an advisory council of twenty members who were senior courtiers and did not necessarily hold any definite office in the state service. It was a novelty in medieval Indian administration, for no muslim ruler of India before. Akbar had such an institution.¹ Like the ancient Hindu kings, who were assisted in the work of administration by the Sabha and the samiti, Akbar was assisted by the advisory council besides his ministers. It was an informal assembly presided over by the Emperor, or sometimes by a senior noble nominated for the purpose and its meetings were held usually during the night. Akbar held consultations with ^{them} on momentous matters of war and peace. Although the decisions of the council were not binding on the Emperor, yet he asked for the views of all the members of the council, and generally abided by their decisions. Sometimes he rejected the unanimous decision of the council if it did not appeal to him. Abul Fazl speaks of a meeting of the council on the eve of Akbar's campaign to Kabul in July, 1581, when it was proposed to consult the Emperor's advisers whether he should make peace with Mirza Hakim and return to the capital or proceed to Kabul to crush the latter's power.² Inasmuch as choice meditation and the

1 Akbar the Great, Vol.II, p.82 by A.L.Srivastava. ✓

2 AN III Tr. pp 839-40

taking of the counsel are a praise worthy habit of the Shahinshah, he directed that the court officers to the number of twenty should hold a special meeting and should give answers in accordance with acuteness and knowledge. He also ordered the writer (Abul Fazl) to ascertain the opinion of each and to report the result to him. The order was carried out and everybody spoke as he had hitherto done. As none of them wished to march they all spoke in favour of pardoning the Mirza and of returning.¹ Akbar rejected their unanimous decision and ordered the army to march to Kabul. It is clear from the above passage that Akbar kept himself aloof from the meeting and the high officers to the number of twenty were to hold a meeting in Akbar's absence and that Abul Fazl was nominated to ^{over}preside the meeting and intimate to the Emperor its decisions. The nobles were free to express their opinion without any fear of the Emperor.

The account of Monserrete, an eye-witness deserves mention here. He says that Akbar 'has about twenty Hindu(?) chieftains as ministers and counsellors to assist both in the work of governing the empire and in the control of the royal household. They are devoted to him and are very wise

1 A.N. Vol.III(Pr. Text), p.357.

and reliable in conducting public business. They are always with him and are admitted to the innermost parts of the palace which is a privilege not allowed even to the Mughal nobles. 'He adds: The following is the method the king employs in deliberation- he asks each counsellor privately for his own opinion, and then himself decides the course which seems to be supported by the largest number and the most experienced. He asks their advice even about subjects, upon which he has already made up his mind. If, however, any of them does not agree with him, he listens patiently, and sometimes even alters his own opinion.'¹

In the provinces there were three important posts on the executive side, namely Subedar (governor), the faujdar and the thanedar. The higher mansabdars or great amirs were mostly appointed governors of subas or provinces. The governors of the provinces under Akbar were at first called Sipahsalar; towards the end of Akbar's reign, Hakims, afterwards Sahib-Subah or Subedars and still later merely Subas.²

Some provinces acquired great importance due to their ~~strategic~~ strategic positions and such provinces were usually entrusted to the great amirs, ^{alone.} ~~alone.~~ The Subedaris of

1 Commentarius, pp. 203-204. ✓

2 Ain. Vol. I (Tr.), p. 252.

In 1580 A.D. in every province a viceroy (Sipahsalar), a diwan, a bakhshi, a Mir Asst, a Sadr, a kotwal, a Mir Bahr (Admiral) and a recorder (Wagwanavis) were appointed. AN III. 11. P. 413. ✓

Kabul, Punjab, Malwa, Gujarat, Bihar and Bengal acquired great importance due to their strategic position and the great amirs generally of the rank of 5000 or above were appointed as governors of these provinces. Then there were provinces like Kashmir, Ajmer, Agra, Allahabad, etc. to which high mansabdars from the rank of 2,500 to 5,000 were appointed as governors. Thus the governors of the provinces used to be high mansabdars and a mansabdar below the rank of 2000 never seems to be employed as governor of a province. Generally nobles holding the ranks from 2500 to 7000 were appointed as subedars of the provinces and the provincial charges differed considerably in importance.¹

The faujdar was the head of a district and was a military officer. He was the representative of the governor of the province and worked under his supervision.² He was both a civil and military officer. Actually, the charges of the faujdar varied considerably in importance. The governor of Ajmer province was known as faujdar-i-Ajmer, the whole province being regarded under his faujdari jurisdiction.

1 In 1580 the empire was divided into 12 provinces-Agra, Delhi, Allahabad, Awadh, Ajmer, Ahmadabad (Gujarat), Bihar, Bengal, Kabul, Lahore (Punjab), Multan and Malwa. After the conquest of the Deccan three new provinces viz., Berar, Ahmadnagar and Khandesh were added to the empire, raising the number to fifteen and the last three were constituted into a viceroyalty under Prince Daniyal. See Akbar the Great, Vol. II by A.L. Srivastava, pp. 111-119.

2 The faujdar was the general head of the district and incharge of the executive side of the administration.

In Gujarat province there was the faujdari of Sorath which due to its strategic position acquired great ascendancy and was placed in charge of the nobles of high rank only. Faujdaris of Banswara, Jaunpur, Sarhind, Sambhal, etc. were considered to be of great importance and were given only to high mansabdars. On the other hand were very small faujdaris e.g. the environs of the city of Ahmadabad, Rai Sen ^{and others} etc. to which mansabdars of low ranks were generally appointed. As far as the appointment to the post of faujdar was concerned generally mansabdars from the rank of 500 upto the rank of 5,000 were appointed as faujdars. Some forts acquired great importance and were placed in charge of high nobles only. It seems that such forts were constituted into small faujdaris and the commandant of the fort who was also known as faujdar, was placed in charge of the fort and its environs. For example, the fort of Ranthambhor was generally placed in charge of a commandant or faujdar. The faujdars were appointed by the Emperor but they were to work under the supervision of the provincial governor.¹

Next to the faujdar was the post of the thanedar. Generally the thandedars worked under the supervision of the faujdar and the faujdar was to supervise the work of the

1 For provinces, its area and revenue and the districts under each province see, Akbar the Great, Vol. II, pp. 116-118 by A.L. Srivastava.

In the 49th R.Y. Kalyan Das, Son of Raja Todar Mal was given the charge of fort kalinjer. A.N. III Tr. 1249 : 30 bal II P. 505. In the 47th R.Y. Jf tikhar Beg was made the faujdar of Mehar. A.N. III Tr. P 1223 : 30 bal II P. 489.

numerous police stations (thanas) established at various places in this jurisdiction in the district. The precise nature and duties of the thanedars and the extent of the control exercised over them by the local jaujdars is not clear. But it is certain that some thanedaris were of great importance and that nobles of high rank were appointed to them. On the other hand there were small thanedaris to which low mansabdars were appointed. In general it appears that mansabdars from the rank of 200 upwards were appointed as thanedars.

On the financial and purely administrative side in the province were the posts of provincial diwan, bakhshi,¹ sadr-cum qazi, mir adl, mufti, kotwal etc. Sometimes amin was also posted in a province. For example in 1575, Mir Alauddin was appointed amin of Gujarat, in 1579 Hakim Abul Faiz was appointed sadr and amin of Bengal and in 1586 Mir Turab Wali was sent to Gujarat as amin. It seems that persons above the rank of 200 were generally given such posts of administration. Of these the post of provincial diwan was of considerable importance and as he was to act as a check on the powers of the governor and his status was equal to that of the governor, generally, persons above the ranks of 500 were appointed to this post. When in 1580 the empire was divided into 12 provinces, the governor of the province was authorised to choose his diwan but from 1595 onwards Akbar himself appointed provincial diwans, probably on the

1. In the 18th R.Y. Khusrau Khan Shiyamuddin Ali Bakhshi who had done well in war was made diwan and bakhshi of Gujarat and given the title of Asaf Khan and was sent with Khan-i-Azam. Masam-i-Rahimi, II p. 803.

recommendation of the wazir of the empire. Henceforward the provincial diwan ceased to be a subordinate of the governor, and held equal rank with and enjoyed the same influence as the governor, though he did not hold the same mansab. The provincial diwan acted directly under the orders of the finance minister (wazir of the empire) and he had to maintain a constant correspondence with him. Thus the provincial diwan was directly responsible for his actions to the imperial diwan or wazir and the Emperor. It was done to keep a check on the powers and ambitions of the provincial governor.¹ ✓

Akbar controlled the provincial administration in various ways. The provincial governor and the provincial diwan acted as rivals and a check upon each other. The appointment of the provincial bakshi and the provincial news-writer (waqya-nawis) made them conscious in the exercise of their powers as the latter had to keep a vigilant eye on the activities of the former two officers. The result was that all the provincial officers of the province became jealous and watchful of each others activities. The policy of checks and balances proved very effective in providing safeguards against misgovernment, oppression and abuse of powers by the officers of the provinces. Secondly, Akbar did not allow governors of the provinces to establish personal contacts with the local elements of power and influence and this was achieved by the frequent transfer

1 In the 29th A.Y. 97mad Ichan was appointed governor of Gujrat. Mir Abu Turab Amin, Khusajab Abdul Nasim - diwan and Nizamuddin Ahmad Hameer the bakshi of Tabagat - bakshi of that province. Maasir - i - Rahimi. P. 886.

of the governors from one province to another province. Akbar had seen that the Uzbek rebellion had occurred in 1566-67 as Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman and his relations had established firm local contacts in the Jaunpur region. Therefore, in September, 1568 Akbar took steps to transfer the Atgah Khail, which had acquired great influence in the Punjab to various parts of the country. Throughout the reign, ~~there~~ are innumerable cases of nobles being transferred from one province to another province, from one end of the Empire to another. The biography of almost any noble would bring out the fact that he had been posted at various times to different provinces of the empire. Generally no noble was allowed to remain in one province more than four years at a time.¹ Thirdly, Akbar invariably punished those governors who were found neglectful and inefficient, oppressive and unjust, by degrading or dismissing them according to the gravity of their fault. For example Shah Quli Khan Mahram was removed from the governorship of the Punjab on charges of maladministration and neglect of duty. Fourthly, the emperor kept himself in close touch with the provincial administration through news-writers and spies. Fifthly, an effective control on provincial and local administration was exercised by Akbar's frequent tours during which he personally listened to the grievances of the people and punished those officers who were found guilty of any kind of oppression. Finally, the

1. The longest term which we notice is that of 11 years otherwise no term is very long: Provincial Governor, under Akbar 1580-1605 A.D. an article by Afzal Husain J.H.C. Jalalpur 1970. ✓

Emperor appointed sometimes high officials to enquire ~~into~~ into the conduct of the provincial and local officers or any other high official against whom any complaint was made.

The minister's distinction lay in their office and not in their rank or grade of service. An officer of any rank could be given precedence over a minister. For example, Mirza Khan (Abdurrahim Khan Khanan) was given precedence over Shahbaz Khan, the mir bakhshi in 1582 and when the latter protested against it he was arrested and kept in custody for sometime. Therefore, Akbar could even transfer his Prime minister to work as a governor of a province and similarly he could appoint his prime minister from any rank of service and this promotion which raised him to the highest office did not entitle him to the highest rank. A minister might not necessarily hold a higher rank in state service than other officers and sometimes even the prime minister did not hold the highest mansab. In 1569, ~~he~~ transferred Prime Minister Munjim Khan to act as a governor of Jaunpur and in 1579 he transferred the Prime minister Muzaffar Khan to act as a governor of Bengal. It was a clear degradation in rank and prestige but their mansab was not reduced. Again Rajah Bhagwant Das who was the governor of a province held the mansab of 5000 where as the Prime minister Todar Mal's rank was only 4000. Rajah Man Singh was promoted to the mansab of 7000 Zat, 5000 Sawar, the

highest open to a noble, but he was never appointed to the post of Prime minister. Thus there was no direct relationship between the mansab held by a noble and the post assigned to him but a broad correspondence between the two did exist.

While nominally there was no difference between the civil and military duties of a mansabdar yet in fact civil (revenue) and military duties were often assigned to different persons according to their experience and training. For example nobles like Rajah Man Singh, Mirza Aziz Kokah, Shahbaz Khan, Rai Rai Singh, Zain Khan Kokah were often assigned military duties and no financial and revenue duty was required of them. Likewise some nobles were always assigned financial and executive duties such as Mozaffar Khan, Khwajah Shah Mansur Shirazi.

However, there are also instances of the same mansabdars serving in various departments at different times. Some high officials who were apt in the art of conversation were generally sent on diplomatic missions to the rulers of other states or countries. Shaikh Faiz-faizi, Rajah Birbat, Hakim Abul Fath, etc. were sent on such missions. Rajah Todar Mal, though was often assigned financial duties (civil) was more than once sent on military deputations.

The picture that we get of the nobility based on accounts of bribery and corruption, is not a surprising one. The nobles were ambitious and anxious to feather their own nests. Qutbuddin Khan, a great noble who was the ruler of Broach, gathered an army of fifteen thousand horse, partly from his own and partly from those of his son Naurang Khan, Governor of Champaner. This army was joined by the forces of the district of Surat Qutbuddin Khan then marched from Daman attacked the Portuguese. When all this was reported to the priests, they handed on the information to the emperor Akbar saying that they were grieved at the unprovoked attack on the Portuguese. Whereupon Akbar swore that the war had been started without his orders or knowledge. He said that Qutbuddin Khan and Shaihab Khan (another noble who helped Qutbuddin) were men of age, experience and authority and that they took upon themselves with the self-confidence of old age to initiate many enterprises of which he himself knew nothing. Moreover, he declared that he dared not reprimand them, because these enterprises always seemed to be undertaken in his own cause and for the public benefit, for the Christians were held to be the enemies of the Musalmans. Monserrate says that this reply of the ^{emperor} appeared to the priests true because these nobles hated the king on account of his fickle^{ness} (in religious matters). Moreover the Mangols are endowed with such natural sagacity that under unsettled conditions of

government they seize every opportunity for fulfilling their own ambitious schemes. At the request of the priests Akbar ordered his generals to withdraw these forces from Daman and they obeyed his orders with immediate promptness.¹

1 Monserrate's Commanterius, pp. 168-170.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NOBLES

The nobility was in fact an ornament of the imperial court embroidering the central figure of the Emperor. The nobles who themselves were a cynosure of admirers presented a picture without which the Mughal life and art would have missed much of their colour and beauty. The Mughal nobility constituted a sort of agency through which the ideals of arts and morals which the emperor wanted to convey to the masses were diffused among them. The nobles were by no means indifferent to the development of art and literature. Many nobles patronised scholars, physicians, poets and artists and thus earned reputation as patrons in this field. Many nobles were themselves good scholars and poets. A few nobles also dabbled in sciences and alchemy while the others were great builders and contributed a lot in the field of architecture. They erected a number of buildings of public utility. The buildings constructed for public welfare included inns, wells, bridges, rest-houses, tanks, gardens and mos-ques. The glory of the Mughal empire under Akbar was partly due to the sustained encouragement to science, art and learning by the nobles of the period. Therefore, the nobility was not unclcultured in any sence of the term. The art and literature prospered and flourished during the reign of Akbar owing to the keen interest of the nobles in its development and the patronage it received from them which made his reign bright and enlightened. Now we

propose to study how the nobles contributed in the development of literature and fine-arts.

Literature

The age of Akbar was prolific in literature. The real charm of this literature lies in two things: first, it represents Persian language in its various shades and forms colloquial, simple, laboured and ornate- Prose and verse; secondly, it contains a study of the history of Akbar's reign from different angles and reflects all points of view-imperial, sectarian and feminine. Persian was not the native tongue either of the Turks or of the Mongols but only an acquired language which in the course of time had become so popular among the Turkish and the Mongol races during their stay in central Asia, that it was freely used by the Princes of the house of Timur even in supersession of their own native tongue- the Turki dialect. Timur's descendants of the line of Babur played an important part in the establishment and adoption of Persian as their own literary tongue, as also their sole medium of expression on all public and private occasions. It seems highly probable that Babur had a definite dislike of Persian on account of political associations,¹ but his son and grandsons were of

¹ Babur's partiality for Turki was but natural. He was fresh from Turkistan, and his connection with India began only towards the close of his career and was the result of anti-Persian feeling among the Mughals. Babur was the last point of connection between Turki and Persian and a singular exception to the almost recognized practice of the literati of his time in leaving his Memoirs in Turki dialect.

just opposite temperaments. They retained a knowledge of colloquial Turki and adopted Persian as their official and literary language with the result that Turki dialect fell rapidly from popularity at court as early as the reign of Humayun. There were, no doubt, political reasons at the back of their choice owing to their Persian followers, as also the existing literary atmosphere in India.

The reign of Akbar not only abounds in Persian literature but also the Hindi literature. Not only the Rajput and the other Hindu nobles but also some of the Muslim nobles contributed in the development of Hindi literature. A number of Hindi works both in prose and verse enriched the Hindi literature in the reign of Akbar. First, we will study the contributions of the nobles in prose works of the period both in Persian and in Hindi; and afterwards their contributions in the poetical works-Persian and Hindi. ✓

Prose Works

The prose works of the period included the historical literature, translations and other prose works on different subjects like science, astronomy, astrology, medicines etc. Now I shall give an account of different nobles of Akbar's reign who were scholars and men of letters and thereby contributed in the cultural development. ✓

Amir Fathullah Shirazi¹ (Irani) was the learned of the Age. He in 1584 founded the new Ilahi era. Abul Fazl calls him 'The Plato of Cycles' and refers to the new era as 'divine era'. He has based the narration of events of Akbar's reign upon this divine era from the year of accession (1556 A.D.) of Akbar though it was founded in 1584.² ✓ He had the title of Azd-ud-daulah (The Arm of the Empire). Akbar used to remember him after his death and often said that 'the Mir was his Wakil, philosopher, physician and astronomer'. Abul Fazl says about him that 'he had completely plundered the caravan of learning's schools. The meeting with this spiritually great man worked a revolution in my ideas. Together with all this stock of knowledge, he was a rare jewel of truth, and uprightness and practical skill'.³ ✓

In addition to Amir Fathullah's having no equal in Persia or India, or rather in the habitable world in all sciences, he was skillful in contrivances and ~~mysteries~~.⁴ He so excelled in all branches of natural philosophy, especially mechanics that Abul Fazl said of him, 'If the books of antiquity should be lost, Amir will restore them'.⁵ ✓ The author

1 He was also called Mir Fathullah Shirazi.

2 A.N. Vol. II (Eng. Tr.), p. 17; Vol. III, pp. 644-45; A.N. Vol. III (Pr. Text), p. 431.

3 A.N. Vol. III, Eng. Tr. p. 848; Pr. Text, Vol. III, p. 558. ✓

4 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol. I, p. 545. ✓

5 Ain, Vol. I, Eng. Tr. Bloch, p. 34 n.1.

✓
of Dhakhinat-ul-Khwanin says that he was the Musahib of the emperor and was an amir. He was a well-educated man.¹ Badaoni who was a bigoted Sunni also praises the Shia Mir Fathullah Shirazi for his learning and scholarship. According to him Mir was the most learned of the learned man of his time. He was thoroughly versed in those sciences which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty such as philosophy, astronomy, geometry, astrology, geomancy, arithmetic, the preparation of talismans, incantations and mechanics and in the department of learning he was such an adept that he was able to draw up an astronomical table as soon as the emperor demanded one from him. In the regions of Theology, mathematics and physics and all branches of sciences, both logical and traditional and in talismans and incantations, he was without his equal in that age. He was equally learned in Arabic, interpretation of the Quran and rhetoric and was the author of some excellent works which were not, however, equal to those of Maulana Mirza Jan of Shiraz.² ✓ Though he gathered abundance of knowledge in the schools of Khwajah Jamaluddin Mahmud, Maulana Kamaluddin

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- 1 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, p. 194 (Karachi Publication). In this book he is called Shah Fathullah Shirazi. Musahib means that he was the boon companion of the emperor. ✓
- 2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 325; Vol.III, Haigh, p. 216. Maulana Mirza Jan of Shiraz was a teacher in Transoxiana. ✓

Shirwani, Maulana Kard and Mir Ghiyasuddin Mansur Shirazi yet the rank of his knowledge rose higher than theirs.¹ Nizamuddin Ahmad says that 'he was a very wise man and in ratiocinative and traditional knowledge was distinguished above all learned men of Khurasan and Iraq and Hindustan and in his own time he had no one in the world similar and equal to him. He had gifts also in curious sciences, such as incantations and talismans; so that he constructed contrivances on carts, so that they moved of themselves, and arrived (at their destinations). He also made a mirror, in which wonderful shapes became visible from near and far; and he could fire off 12 guns by means of one wheel.'² ✓

Shaikh Abul Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubarik of Nagore, was a man of versatile genius. The Emperor conferred upon him the title of Khalif-ul-Khulfa. He wrote books in Arabic and Persian. He was also a historian and enriched the historical literature of the period. His Akbarnamah contains all the events of Akbar's reign. He wrote 'Ayar-i-Danish also and translated 'Mahabharat' from Hindi into Persian. There is a collection of letters by him known as 'Inshai Abul Fazl' or Daftar-i-Abul Fazl'.³ By his fifteenth year he had

1 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p. 543. The Shah Nawaz Khan says that he was unique of the age in theoretical and practical sciences.

2 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De,p.685.

3 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, folios, 12a-13b (Persian Ms. No. 32/74, Habibganj collection, Aligarh). ✓

acquired the philosophic sciences and traditional learning. In the 19th Regnal Year when he presented himself to Emperor Akbar, he tendered a commentary which he had written on the Ayatu-i-kursi (The Throne Verse v 256 of the second chapter of Quran).¹ About 981-982 A.H. Abul Fazl, in opposition in the commentary of the Kursi verse, which he had formerly composed, wrote for it a Khutbah extending in two sheets.² Nizamuddin Ahmad says that he has very deep knowledge in all sciences, and the greatness of his morality, the nobility of his attributes and his natural and acquired accomplishments are beyond all limits and bounds. The age has reason today to be proud of him. He is the leader of all who are nearest to his Majesty and he possesses the trust of the State, and is the pillar of the empire. He possesses a pure and holy spirit, and angelic attributes. He has written noble books. He has completed the book called Akbarnamah, in which he has ~~completed the~~ described the events, and the victories of the reign of his Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilahi, in a style of Persian prose, which might be the history of spirituality. He has other works, such as the Ayar-i- Danish, the Resala-i-Ikhlaq etc.³

1 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, pp. 117-127;
Ain, Vol.I, Bloch. p. XXXV, n.1.

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II, Lowe, pp. 327-331.

3 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De. pp. 685-86.

Blochmann says that Abul Fazl had read works on all branches of those sciences which go by the name of hikami and naqli or maqul and manqul.¹ He translated the Kalila Damana under the title of Ayar-i-Danish from Arabic into Persian and took part in the translation of the Mahabharat, and in the composition of the Tarikh-i-Alfi.² Akbar entrusted the work of translating the book called 'Haiwat-ul-haiwan' to Shaikh Abul Fazl. This book Naqib Khan often used to read before the Emperor and used to interest him in the subject matter. Shaikh Mubarak translated it into Persian.³

Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan, son of Bairam Khan, rendered into Persian out of Turki the Memoirs of Firdus Makani (Babur) and presented it to Akbar in 1589. He wrote Persian, Turkish, Arabic and Hindi with great fluency.⁴ Mir Ghiyasuddin Ali, entitled Naqib Khan, son of Mir Abdul Latif (of Qazwin) was endowed with angelic qualities and perfection of learning. He had no equal either in Arabia or

1 Maqul manqul means which is based on reason (aql) and traditional testimony (naql). See, p. 609, n.1. Ain, Vol. I. Bloch, (1927), second Ed.).

2 Ain. Vol.I. Bloch, pp. XXXIV, Xli.

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 207.

4 A.N.Vo.III, Pr.Text, p. 570; Eng.Tr.Vol.III, p. 362; Ain I, Eng. Tr. p. 167, note; For a discussion who translated Babur's Memoirs (Baburnamah, or Tuzuk-i-Baburi or Waqai-i-Baburi) see Asiatic Quarterly, July and October, 1900; The Darbar-i-Akbari, p. 642 ridicules the idea that Abdurrahim personally translated the Memoirs; Ain. I, Eng. Tr. p. 355; Ain I, Bloch. p.360.

in Persia in his knowledge of works on travel, of history and of chronicles. ' He is now strenuously employed night and day in the imperial service', says Badaoni ' and for a whole generation past has been engaged in reading works of history, books of story and anecdotes and legends, both in Persian and in Hindi, which latter works have in these days been translated.'¹ ✓ He was exceptionally well-versed in the knowledge of Hadiith (traditions). It is stated that he had learnt the seven volumes of Raudat-us-Safa by heart and was also skilled in geometry Jahangir mentions in his memoirs that NaqibKhan had remarkable powers of conjecture and was wonderfully keen sighted. After seeing a flock of pigeons in the air, he could say exactly how many there were.² ✓ He was also famous for his knowledte of witch-craft (Ilm-i-Jaffar).³

Mirza Aziz Kokah, entitled Khan-i-Azam (Azam Khan) was remarkable for his ease of address, intelligence and his knowledge of history.⁴ ✓ The following couplets were composed by him:

" Since honour and reputation prevented me from
obtaining the desire of my heart,

I will hence forward shatter my reputation with a stone".

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p.150. Badaoni calls him Mirza Ghiyasuddin Ali-yi-Akhund entitled Naqib Khan.

2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng.Tr.Vol.II, pp. 383-84. ✓

3 Dh'akhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I (Karachi Publication, 1961) p. 237.

4 Ain, I. Bloch. p. 346.

He also wrote an illuminated copy of an ode composed by himself, the opening couplet of which was this:

"O thou, whose curled lock is the fetter of my heart,
The love of whom is mingled with all the elements of
my body!"

Bahadur Khan Shaibani, like his brother Ali Quli Khan, was a man of letters.¹

Rajah Ram Chand Baghelah who was a noble at Akbar's court was a great patron of scholars and man of letters. He was the patron of the renowned musician Miyan Tansen.² Husain Khan Tukriya, another noble, was a patron of historian Badaoni.³

Hasan Beg Shukr Ali who was a relative of Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan, was acquainted with history and could rhyme.⁴

Khwajah Abdul Majid Asaf Khan was a great writer.⁵ Qazi Nizam of Badakhshan, who first received the title of Qazi Khan and later on Ghazi Khan was the author of some standard works, among which was a treatise on the proof of

1 Ain. I, Bloch, p. 347; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Pr. Text, p.239.

2 Ain.I, Bloch, p. 445.

3 Ain. I, Bloch, p. 402.

4 A.N.Vol.III, Eng. Tr. p. 1188; Pr. Text, p. 793. He was a Turk of Baharlu tribe to which Abdurrahim belonged. See notes 4 and 5 on the same page.

5 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 122-123.

the word(of God) and an account of the religion of truth and verity. He also wrote marginal notes on the commentary, on the dogmas of the faith and the numerous treatises on Sufism. The Sijda or prostration which formed so important a part in the ceremonies of the court was his invention.¹

Ashraf Khan Mir Munshi was a learned man. He knew seven types of script and was well-versed in the art of making amulets or charms(Ilm-i-Jaffar).²

Khwajah Aminuddin Mahmud, entitled Khwajah-i-Jahan was a pioneer in the science of accounts. He wrote Shikasta very beautifully and was exceedingly acute and careful in the valuation of property and in the correctness of his calculations.³

Rai Purukhotam, a Hindu noble wrote a commentary on the Khirad-afra. Akbar made him a bakhshi in reward for his commentary.⁴

Jalal Khan Qurchi who was a noble at Akbar's court was the patron of historian Badaoni.⁵

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 488; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Pr.Text, p. 153; Haig, pp. 214-15.

2 Dhakhirat-ul-khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 208-9.

3 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng.Tr. Vol.I, p. 823.

4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lower, p.274.

5 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lower, p. 204.
He was the person who introduced Badaoni at court.

Many fine books which belonged to Itimad Khan Gujrati, a noble of Akbar's reign and had been acquired in the conquest of Gujarat were placed in the imperial library but were subsequently brought out and distributed by the emperor among learned and pious.¹

Mir Jamaluddin Husain Inju compiled a great Persian Dictionary, entitled Farhang-i-Jahangiri. In 1623~~m~~, on the eighteenth anniversary of Jahangir's accession, he presented a copy of it to the emperor Jahangir. The first edition of it ~~textxxxxxxxx~~ had made its appearance in 1917 A.H. (about 1608 A.D.).² The author of the Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin calls the book 'Farhang-i-Mir Jamaluddin and says that it was a standard book.'³

Mir Masum of Bhakhar was well known as a historian. After the death of his father, Mir Masum studied under Mulla Mohammad of Kingri, South West Bhakhar and soon distinguished himself by his learning. He went to Gujarat at the time when the historian Nizamuddin Ahmad was just engaged in writing his historical work 'Tabaqat-i-Akbari'. Mir Masum became a

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- 1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 205. Badaoni also received a book called Anwar-ul-mashkut in amplification of one section of the Mashkut-ul-anwar.
 - 2 Mir Jamaluddin was a noble of the rank of 5000 at Akbar's court. Ain.I.Bloch, p. 501; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng.Tr. I, p. 743. Regarding Farhang-i-Jahangiri, see the Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1868, pp. 12 to 15 and 65-69.
 - 3 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 196-197.

friend of Nizamuddin and was like him well-versed in history. He helped Nizamuddin in his work and himself wrote a historical work, entitled '~~Tarikh-i-Sindh~~ (History of Sindh) which he dedicated to his son. Mir Masum wrote a short treatise on medicine known as '~~Mufridat-i-Masumi~~'.¹

Khwajah Shamsuddin Khwafi, who had ~~rose~~ to the rank of the nobility and was the diwan of the emperor was a good writer. The people of his tribe ~~rose~~ very high.² Khwajah Ghiyasuddin Ali of Qazwin was a man of learning.³ Darbar Khan was the story-teller of Akbar. His father Taklu Khan was the story-teller of Shah Tahmasp of Iran. Gradually Darbar Khan had attained the rank of nobility in Akbar's service.⁴ Qasim Beg Tabrezi was distinguished for his knowledge and was included in the rank of nobility.⁵

Athar Ali says that the Mughal nobility was not divorced from intellectual pursuits but it lacked a desire to offer science and learning a sustained encouragement which could be through the establishment of academic institutions. The nobles patronised art and learning by supporting

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- 1 Ain, I, Bloch. p. 579; Maasir-ul-Umrah, Tr. Vol. ~~II~~. II, pp. 62-63.
 - 2 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol. I, p. 195.
 - 3 He was a noble and had the title of Asaf Khan. He was Asaf Khan II. See Ain. Vol. I, Bloch, p. 479.
 - 4 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol. I, p.
 - 5 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, B.E, p. 696.

and employing individual scholars, physicians, poets and artists and not by maintaining public institutions, i.e. schools and colleges.¹ In the time of Akbar we find some nobles taking interest in teaching and maintaining public institutions. Amir Fathullah Shirzi was so worldly that in spite of his high rank, he did not withhold himself from teaching children. He became devoted to teaching the children of the Amirs (nobles). First of all he started teaching the servant of Hakim Abul Fath (a noble), at another time to the son of Shaikh Abul Fazl (another noble) and to other children, amirs of seven or eight years of age and even younger and taught them to point and to draw straight lines and curves and even alphabet.² Badaoni remarks about him 'although he was polite, courteous and well-educated in society, seemed to be unable, as soon as began to teach, to address his pupils otherwise than with abuse, insinuation and Sarcasm (God save us from the like). For this reason very few ever became his pupils and he has not left behind him one worthy disciple'.³ Similarly some other nobles also adopted the profession of teaching while a number of them taught without accepting any remuneration for it. Mir Syed Mohammad Mir Adl of Amroha, after completing

1 'The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb' by M. Athar Ali, pp. 166-167.

2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol. I, p. 546; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II, Lowe, p. 326.

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. III, Haig, p. 216.

his course of studies, employed himself in teaching.¹

In addition to these nobles there were other mansabdars (imperial officers) in the service of Akbar who were scholars and educated persons and they enriched the literature of the period though they could not attain the rank of nobility. Shaikh Mubarak,² father of Shaikh Abul Fazl held high rank in the rational and traditional sciences and had on his tongue the views of the philosopher, the orator and the Sufi and every form of religion. At the end of his life he wrote a great commentary on the Quran in four volumes entitled 'Manba'u Nafais-ul-Uyun' (The source of the fountains of excellence) resembling the Tafsir Kabir (The Great commentary on the Quran). He also wrote the 'Jawami'-ul-Kalam (The collection of signification).³ He was always employed in giving religious instruction and was well-versed in poetry, enigmas, and in all other arts and branches of learning but especially in the theology of the Sufis.⁴ He was 'one of the deeply learned men' says

1 Mir Syed Mohammad was a noble in the service of Akbar, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 120-121; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, B.De, p. 691.

2 He was a mansabdar of four hundred.

3 A.N.Vol.III, Eng.Tr. pp. 987-88; Ain.Vol.I, Bloch,p.549; Maasir-ul-Umarah,Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p. 514.

4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 118-120 Badaoni writes that towards the end of his life when his sight failed him and he was unable to read, he went into retirement and wrote a great commentary in four volumes. It appears from Iqbalnamah that Akbar was not pleased at its being written without reference to him and was still more displeased with Abul Fazl for sending copies of it to various foreign princes without his permission. The story is also described in the Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh.

Nizamuddin Ahmad. He wrote a commentary in Arabic in four volumes. He was engaged for about fifty years in Agra in teaching and instructing disciples.¹ ✓

Maulana Nuruddin Tarkhan was distinguished for his learning and was fond of astronomy, mathematics and the use of astrolabe. He spent twenty years in the service of Humayun. Sometimes the king (Humayun) asked his opinion about scientific matters and sometimes he consulted the king about mathematical problems, particularly about the astrolabe, in which Humayun was highly proficient.² Maulana Nuruddin Mohammad Tarkhan had a comprehensive knowledge of philosophy and rhetoric.³ According to Nizamuddin he was a good mathematician and astronomer.⁴ ✓

Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini was cream of the great men of Persia. He came to Akbar's court and was appointed the emperor's tutor and guardian. Akbar took lessons from him in various passages of diwan of Khwajah Hafiz and other books.⁵ ✓

1 Tabazat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De.p.701.

2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, pp. 460-461.

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 218-19.

4 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, B.De, p.

5 A.N. Vol.II, Eng. Tr. p. 35; Pr. Text, p.19; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 149.

Shaikh Gadai of Dehli, the Kanbu perfected himself in exoteric learning. He was appointed Sadr-ul-Sudur in India by Bairam Khan and was for several years restored to, as an authority on religious questions, by the sages and principal men of Hindustan, Khurasan, Transoxiana and Iraq.¹

In 982 A.H. the historian Badaoni² was given a book called 'Singh-asan-Battisi', which was a series of thirty-two tales about Rajah Bikramajit, king of Malwa and resembled the Tutanamah and was ordered by Akbar to make a translation of the book in prose and in verse. A learned Brahmin was appointed to interpret the book for him. When the translation was finished, he named it 'Namah-e-Khirad-afza (The title means' the Book of Mental Recreation). The book was accepted and placed in the library.³ He was also ordered to translate the 'At' harban'. As in translation work he found many passages difficult which Shaikh Bhawan⁴ could not interpret, Akbar ordered Shaikh Faizi⁵ and Haji Ibrahim to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything.

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 122-123.

2 Badaoni was a mansabdar of Twenty in Akbar's service. He wrote an account of the events of Akbar's reign upto the 38th Regnal Year, entitled 'Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh'.

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 186.

4 He was a learned Brahmin who had come from the Dakhin and turned a musalman.

5 He was the elder brother of Shaikh Abul Fazl.

6 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p.216.

In 990 A.H., since 1000 years since the mission of the Prophet were completed. Akbar ordered that a Tarikh-i-Alfi (A history of Thousand Years)¹, commencing with the death of the Prophet should be written. He appointed seven persons to undertake the compilation from the date of death of the last of the Prophets, upto 990 A.H. He assigned the first year to Naqib Khan,² the second year to Shah Fathullah³ and so on to Hakim Humam, Hakim Ali,⁴ Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi, Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad and the historian Badaoni. At the recommendation Hakim Abul Fath,⁵ the work from the 36th year was entrusted solely to Mulla Ahmad of Thattah, who wrote whatever coincided with his sectarian prejudices. The compilation of the two volumes was finished upto the time of Changiz Khan. Afterwards Mulla Ahmad was murdered one night in a street of Lahore and the remainder of the work was done by Asaf Khan (noble) upto the year 997. In the year one thousand, Badaoni was ordered to proceed to Lahore, to revise the composition, compare it with other histories and arrange the dates in proper sequence. He composed the first two volumes in one year and entrusted the third to Asaf Khan.⁶

1 It was a World history of the kings of Islam.

2 He was Ghiasuddin Ali Naqib Khan and was a noble.

3 He was Shah Fathullah Shirazi (noble)

4 Hakim Humam and Hakim Ali were also nobles.

5 He was also a noble.

6 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 173-174; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I. p.568. The author of Maasir says that Mulla Ahmad of Thattah wrote with acumen the account of events upto the time of Changiz Khan and (contd..)

In 990 A.H. Akbar ordered the translation of Mahabharata. When the emperor had had the Shahnamah and the story of Amir Hamzah in seventeen volumes transcribed in 15 years, he spent much gold in illuminating it. He then ordered the translation of Hindu books into Persian. For several nights he himself devoted his attention to explaining the meaning to Naqib Khan (noble) so that he might sketch out the gist of it in Persian. Then he ordered the historian Badaoni to translated the Mahabhartā (an Indian epic) in conjunction with Naqib Khan. In three or four months two out of 18 sections were translated. Mulla Sheri and Naqib Khan together accomplished a portion and another was completed by Sultan Haji of Thaneswar. Shaikh Faizi was then ordered to convert the rough translation into elegant prose and verse but he did not complete more than two sections. The Haji aforesaid revised these two sections. The translation was called Razmnamah.¹

In 992 A.H. Badaoni was ordered by Akbar to make a translation of the Ramayana which according to him was a superior composition to the Mahabhartā.² In 999 A.H. Akbar

(contd.)

and comprised them in two volumes. When he was killed. Asaf Khan Jafar continued the work upto 997 A.H.

- 1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, pp. 327-331; Vol. III, Haig, pp. 173-174. Badaoni says that this work was brought to such a point of perfection that not a flymark of the original was omitted. When it was fairly engrossed and embellished with pictures, the amirs had orders to take copies of it with the blessing of favour of God.
- 2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, pp.346-47. Badaoni says that the events narrated in the Ramayana were not true at all and were pure invention and simple imagination like the Shahnamah and the stories of Amir Hamzah.

ordered him to rewrite in easy style the history of Kashmir, which Mulla Shah Mohammad of Shahbad who was a learned man had translated according to imperial orders in Persian.¹ In the same year Hakim Humam (noble) praised the book 'Mujam-ul-bulden' (Bloch. p.106) and represented to the emperor that it should be translated from Arabic into Persian. Accordingly ten or twelve men of learning, both Persian and Indian were appointed for the task and Badaoni also was assigned some portion of it.² Afterwards an order for making an epitome of Jami-Rashidi with the approval of Shaikh Abul Fazl was given to Badaoni. He translated it in extenso from Arabic into Persian (1000 A.H.)³ In 1003 A.H. Badaoni was ordered to translate and complete the translation of Bahr-ul-asmar, a part of which had been translated by the command of Sultan Zin-ul-Abidin, king of Kashmir. Badaoni was presented 10,000 tankas and a horse.⁴ Nizamuddin Ahmad says that Badaoni passed his whole life in the service of Akbar and possessed great wisdom and perfections. He had complete facility in the learning of the Sufis and in history, and in the poetical arts. He composed some books

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 386.

2 Ibid., p. 388. ✓

3 Ibid., p. 397.

4 Ibid., p. 415-16.

Bahr-ul-asmar(The Sea of Tales) Lowe thinks was probably Rajtarangini(The ocean of kings), the only piece of history in Sanskrit. Badaoni was ordered to translate the work afresh into ordinary language. Earlier it had been translated in archaic Persian. ✓

and also translated some Hindi books into Persian by order of Akbar.¹

✓
Maulana Abdullah² of Sultanpur entitled Makhdumulmulk was one of the greatest sages of his time and had not his equal in his age, especially in his knowledge of Arabic, Quranic exegesis, scholastic theology, history and all those branches of learning which depend upon the exercise of the memory. He left wonderful compositions- the best known among them being the books known as 'Ismat-i-Anbiya' (The protection of continence of the Prophets) and 'Sharhu Shama' i li'n Nabi (An Exposition of the qualities of the Prophet).³ After his death several ingots of gold and books were discovered in his sepulchre. All these ingots of gold, together with his books which were as precious to him as ingots were placed in the public treasury.⁴ ✓

Shaikh Faizi, elder brother of Shaikh Abul Fazl, wrote a commentary on the Quran, called 'Sawati-ul-Ilham' (The Rays of Inspiration) (1002 A.H.). He sent some sheets to Iraq so that he might become popular. Then he became

1 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, B.De. pp. 696-97. ✓

2 He was a noble in the reign of Humayun and was Sadr-us-Sudur in the reign of Akbar. His mansab is not known but he is mentioned by all the contemporary writers among the learned men.

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 113-118. ✓

4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 321;
Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, B.De. p. 687.

occupied with Amrar-i-Sani which he revised (1003 A.H.)¹
 It is said that Faizi composed 101 books. The best known
 besides his poetical works were 'Sawati-ul-Ilham and the
Mawarid-ul-Kalam (book on morals). His fine library, consisting
 of 4,300 choice MSS, was embodied with the imperial
 library. Faizi had been employed as teacher to the princes
 and he sometimes acted as ambassador too.² The author of
 the Maasir ^{ul-ummal?} says that by his acuteness of intellect the Shaikh
 had acquired a competent knowledge of all the sciences. He
 was especially skilled in philosophy and Arabic and he had
 knowledge of medicine. Mir Haider, the riddle maker found
 the date of the completion of 'Sawati-i-ul. Ilham (1002 A.H.)
 which was without dotted letters in the contents of
 'Surah Ikhlas' and received Rs. 10,000 as a reward for this
 chronogram. His other prose work 'Mawarid-ul-Kalam' was
 also without dotted letters. Men objected that nobody had
 written however great was their devotion- a commentary
 (on the Koran) without dotted letters. The Shaikh said that
 when the holy creed which was the foundation of the faith-
 was without dots, what other proof did they want? He was
 also a disciple of Akbar, i.e. a member of Din-i-Ilahi.²

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, Lowe, pp 407. Shaikh Faizi
 was a mansabdar of 400 in Akbar's service. He was better
 known as a poet.

2 Ath.I, Bloch, p. 550; Akbarnamah, Vol.III, Eng. Tr. pp.
 1039,40 (Pr.Text, pp. 675-76; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr.
 Vol.I, pp. 514-515; Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De. p. 717.

Taqiya of Shustar was a good ^epost and well-educated man. He reached to the mansab of 200 upto the 40th Regnal Year of Akbar's reign. At Akbar's orders he made a prose version of the Shahnamah (1004 A.N.)¹

Medicines

Some nobles of Akbar's reign were great physicians^c and they greatly contributed to the development of medical science. Hakim Ali Gilani was a physician^c. In the 40th year of Akbar's reign he attained the rank of 700, and had the title of 'Jalinus-uz-zamani' (The Galenus of the Age). His astringent mixture enjoyed a great reputation at the court. Once the emperor Akbar tried him by giving him several battles of urine of sick and healthy people and, even of animals. To his satisfaction, Hakim Hakim Ali correctly distinguished the different kinds.² The author of Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin says that Hakim Ali was one of the great physicians^c of Hindustan. When Akbar came to know of his qualities, he gave him the mansab of 3,000 and made him his close companion (nadim). He ~~t~~reated his patients successfully.³ He treated Emperor Akbar immediately before

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 418; Vol.III, Pr. text, p.206; Ain, I, Bloch. p. 584. Badaoni calls him Mulla Taqi of Shustar, Abul Fazl calls him Taqiya, and Nizamuddin calls him Taqi Mohammad. He received for his attainments the title of Murarrikh Khan by Emperor Jahangir. See Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 69.

2 Ain. Vol.I, Bloch, p. 520,612.

3 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 243-245 (Karachi publication).

his death but with no effect. The emperor angrily said to him that he had raised him from a humble position to such a high rank in the hope that he would be of some help one day but even he could not cure him. Upon this Hakim Ali poured a drop of medicine in a cup of water and even the water became hard but the medicine had no effect on Akbar.¹ At last, Hakim Ali took recourse to a most powerful astringent, which stopped the dysentery but fever and strangury ensued. The disease continued to increase and the Emperor died.²

Jahangir says of Hakim Ali that he excelled in Arabic and composed a commentary to the Qanun but "his subtilty was greater than his knowledge, his looks better than his walk of life, his behaviour better than his heart; for in reality he was a bad and unprincipled man".³ Once Jahangir hinted that Hakim Ali had killed Akbar. He became angry with Hakim Ali and accused him of killing his father by permitting him to eat water-melon (Tarbuz).⁴

Badaoni says that Hakim Ali was the son of the sister of Hakim-ul-mulk of Gilan and learnt medicine and science under his uncle and Shah Fathullah of Shiraz and

1 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 243-45 (Karachi publication).

2 Dhakhirat, Vol.I, pp. 243-45; Ain.I.Bloch, p. 520.

3. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 74 (Eng.Tr.).

4 Ain I, Bloch, p. 521; Dhakhirat, Vol.I, pp. 243-245.

studied traditional learning under Shaikh Abdun Nabi. He was a bad doctor who often killed his patients. Thus he killed Amir Fathullah Shirazi by prescribing harisa-
harisa is said to be some concoction of meat and wheat.¹

"His excellence in acquired knowledge and especially in the science of medicine is extreme," says Radaoni, "and he is passionately devoted to the practice of the healing art, but he is but a youth, self opinioned and of limited experience, it sometimes happens that a patient, after taking one of his draughts speedily has a taste of the draught of extinction and not with standing the fact that he was the pupil of Shah Fattullah of Shiraz, he ordered him, when he was in an ardent fever, a diet of thick pottage thereby handing him over to death, the executioner".² Nizamuddin says that Hakim Ali was adorned by much learning and was one of those who were very close to the court.³ But Abul Fazl says that Amir Fathullah, thinking to understand the medical science, refused the advice of the famous Hakim Ali and tried to cure the fever by eating harisa which caused his death.⁴

Hakimul-mulk of Gilan was "the Galen of the age in medicine and the healing art and was the healing breath of

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Pr. Text, p.166. For harisa, see Ain Vol.I, p.34 note and Ain 24th. ✓

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 232-233. ✓

3 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, B.De, pp. 711-12.

the=Messiah", says Badaoni. In other branches of traditional learning, he was distinguished far above all his fellows. He was constantly engaged in teaching students, to whom indeed, he was not only a tutor but also a generous patron.¹ His name was Shamsuddin and like several other physicians of Akbar's court he came from Gilan on the Caspian. He was a very learned man. When the learned were driven from the court and the innovations commenced, he asked for permission to go to Makkah (988 A.H.), where he died.² The author of the *Tabaqat* says that his name was Shamsuddin Muhammad and Akbar gave him the title of Hakim-ul-Mulk. He knew philosophy and other sciences and the science of medicine.³

Hakim Abul Fath of Gilan was an able physician. His name was Masihuddin Abul Fath. His father Mulla Abdur Razzaq of Gilan was a learned and talented man. Hakim Abul Fath came to India and rose higher and higher in Akbar's favour and possessed an immense influence in state matters and on the emperor himself. Though only a mansabdar of 1000, he was said to have had the power of a wakil. Abul Fazl and Badaoni speak of the vast attainments of Abul Fath.⁴ He died during the

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 224-26.

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 611-12.

3 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De, p. 710.

4 A rare copy of his Munshiyat is preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No.780). His Munshiyat contain interesting letters addressed by Abul Fath to his brother Hakim Humam, the Khan-i-Khanan, Khwajah Shams and others. See Ain I, Bloch, pp. 468-469, note 1, 612.

expedition of Kashmir and was buried in Hasan Abdal.¹ He possessed unusual excellence and had tact and knowledge of the world. He was acute, wise and active man. Shaikh Faizi says about him in his elegy:-

"His writings were an exposition of fate's decrees, His thoughts an exposition of fortune's records". He was the subject of panegyric by the poets of the day. Especially ~~did~~ Mulla Urfi of Shiraz wrote many brilliant odes in his praise. He was generous and the beauty of the age and for perfections he was the unique of the world.² He obtained favour in the emperor's service to such a degree that he was admitted to his intimate companionship and acquired such influence over him as to render himself an object of envy to all who concerned themselves in the affairs of the state.³ ✓ He was highly distinguished for his acumen and quickness of apprehension, and for his proficiency in all worldly accomplishments- prose and poetry.⁴ He had attained to much proximity in the service of Akbar. ✓ The author of the Tabaqat says that he was distinguished for quickness of intellect and sharpness of understanding and other human perfections.⁵ ✓

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- 1 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, p.195(Karachi Publ.). ✓
 - 2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p. 107.
 - 3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 233.
 - 4 Ibid.
 - 5 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De, p. 712.

Hakim Humam was the younger brother of Hakim Abul Fath, and 'his disposition was better than his brother's although it was not naturally good, yet it could not be called naturally bad', says Badaoni.¹ The author of Maasir says that hakim Humam had some knowledge of physical sciences and medicine.² Hakim Humam's real name was Humayun. Akbar gave him the name of Humam. Though he was only a mansabdar of 600, he was a personal friend of Akbar and possessed a great influence at court.³ Nizamuddin says that he was adorned by excellences and perfections.⁴ He was an amir in the reign of Akbar.

Hakim Ain-ul-mulk of Shiraz was a great physician and held a very high rank among the learned. Besides he was a man of a most noble disposition.⁵ He held high rank in the science of the use of collyrium and was a man of good moral character. Abul Fazl says that he was a learned man and a clever writer. He attained the rank of nobility in Akbar's service and was liked very much by him. He died at Handia in 1003 A.H.⁶ ✓

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- 1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 234.
Akbar gave him the name of Humam which means 'hero' or 'magnanimous prince'. Blochmann in the Ain I, p. 474, note 2 has apparently mistaken it for Hammam'a bath' or Nammam'a slanderer'.
 - 2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng.Tr. Vol.I, p.606.
 - 3 Ain I, Bloch, p. 529, 612.
 - 4 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, B.De., p. 712.
 - 5 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 229-230.
 - 6 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, B.De, p.711; Ain I, Bloch, p. 537, 612.

Hakim Zanbil was distinguished for his learning and had a place among those who were admitted to the emperor's company.¹ He was a noble and held the mansab of 900 in Akbar's service. In the list of physicians of Akbar's court, he is called Hakim Zanbil Beg by Abul Fazl.²

Hakim Misri was a very learned man and was a physician at Akbar's court. He was well skilled both in the theory and practice of medicine and learned in all traditional learning. He had some acquaintance with the profane sciences, such as exorcism, etymology and the formation of broken plurals. He made his best efforts to cure Shaikh Faizi in his last illness but of no avail. Badaoni says that 'what indeed could he do in the face of irresistible decree of fate, before which all are helpless and dumb. If medicine could prolong the life physicians should never die.'³ He was a mansabdar of 400 in Akbar's reign and could not attain the rank of nobility. He also composed poems. He died in Burhanpur and was buried there. Both Abul Fazl and

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 228. Haig says that Zanbil means 'a basket'. In the text he is called 'Hakim Zinal Shirazi' but he has corrected the name because Shirazi occurs in neither manuscript and is an error, for Zanbil was the brother of Mirza Muhammad Tabib of Sabzwar. See note, 2.

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 490, 612; Tabaqat II, B.De. p. 711 Nizamuddin too calls him Hakim Zamibil Shirazi.

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III(Pr.Text) p. 165; Haig, pp. 230-31.

Badaoni speaks of the Hakim as a man of a most amiable and unselfish character.¹ ✓ He was very simple minded and unselfish and for this reason acquired but little wealth. He produced some practical treatises on medicine.² The author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* praises him for his practical knowledge of medicine and his good disposition.³ ✓

Hakim Lutfullah of Gilan, who was the younger brother of Hakim Abul Fath and Hakim Humam was a mansabdar of 200 in Akbar's reign. He was well-known as a clever practitioner and his learning was very great. He did not attain the rank of nobility in Akbar's reign.⁴ Nizamuddin says that he possessed sharpness of intellect and was in the service of her Highness Miriam Makani (Akbar's mother).⁵

Hakim Muzaffar of Ardistan when a young man was a physician to the ruler of Iran, Shah Tahmasp. He came to India and was highly regarded. Badaoni says about him, "When he attends the sick, his very foot-step seems to bring them good luck. Although he has not much learning, his practical

1 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 550,611.

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 230-231.

3 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, II, B.E, p. 711; Nizamuddin calls him Hakim Misri Arab.

4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 236; Ain I, Bloch, pp. 584,612.

5 *Tabaqati-e- Akbari*, II, B.De. p. 713.

experience in very great.¹ In the *Tabaqat*, he is called Hakim Jalaluddin Mohammad Ardistani.² Under Akbar he was a mansabdar of 200 but Jahangir in 1606 A.D. gave him the rank of 3000 zat/1000 sawar.³ His death was reported to Jahangir on September 14, 1607. Jahangir praises him very highly and says that his practice was greater than his learning and says, 'he is a pleasing physician, come let us all fall sick.'⁴

Hakim Fathullah of Gilan had read many works on medicine and his knowledge of astronomy was also great. He wrote a Persian commentary to the *Qanun* (law). He was sent to Kabul to treat Qulij Khan (a noble of Akbar's time). In the first year of Jahangir's reign he had the rank of 1000 zat/300 sawar.⁵ The author of the *Tabaqat* calls him Hakim Fathullah Shirazi and says that he had facility in medical work, theoretical and practical.⁶

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- 1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, vol.III, Haig, p. 237
Ardistan is a town lying between Kashan and Yezd; Ain I, Bloch, p. 582,612.
 - 2 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, II, B.De. p.712.
 - 3 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 37.
 - 4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p.237.
 - 5 Ibid.,; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p.34; Ain I, Bloch, p. 612.
 - 6 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, II, B.De. p. 713. Both Abul Fazl and Badaoni say that he was from Gilan.

Hakim Shifai was a good physician. His position rose high after coming to Hindustan. Miriam Makani, mother of emperor Akbar was attacked with several diseases at a time and Hakim Shifai was called upon to treat her. In spite of his great efforts, Miriam Mokani could not be saved. The emperor became angry with him. Hakim who was a good poet, wrote a qasidah and the emperor was pleased with him and forgave him.¹ ✓

Political Works

The value of the poetical works of the period cannot be over-emphasized. First, they help us in understanding the spirit of Akbar's age. The poetry of Akbar's court breathes the spirit of Din-i-Ilahi and mirrors the spiritual and moral urges of the people. To understand the mental climate in which Din-i-Ilahi was promulgated, it is necessary to scrutinize the poetical works of this period. Secondly, many poets of this period delighted in writing chronograms which help us today in determining the dates of many historical events, campaigns, conquests, constructions, compilations, births and deaths. Thirdly, these works contain information which helps us in understanding some incidents and individuals more intimately. Only two instances

1 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 245-46 (Karachi Publ);
Ain I, Bloch, p. 612. ✓

will suffice to make the point clear:

Bairam Khan's attitude towards Akbar has been the subject of great controversy. Whatever information we get in the contemporary records about the circumstances of his conflict with the Emperor really represents the imperial point of view. Bairam's own diwan throws considerable light on his feelings towards Akbar. His 'spiritual agony' finds expression in his verses.¹ ✓

Akbar was not very much impressed by poetry but even then he encouraged it with his patronage and gave the royal bounty for its development. In the words of Abul Fazl, 'Poets strike out a road to the inaccessible realm of thought and divine grace beams forth in their genius. But many of them do not recognize the high value of their talent, and barter it away from a wish to possess inferior store: they pass their time in praising the mean-minded, or soil their language with invectives against the wise. If it were not so, the joining of words were wonderful indeed; for by this means lofty ideas are understood.' ✓

He who joins words to words, gives away a drop from the blood of his heart. Everyone who strings words to words, ✓

1 For Bairam's verses see the article in Medieval India Quarterly, Jan. and April, 1958 'Persian literature under Akbar' by K.A. Nizami, pp. 300-328; Nafais-ul-Masir by Subhanullah Alauddaulah Qazwini MS No. 920-45 Azad Library Aligarh Collection, pp. 73-81. ✓

Diwan-i-Bairam Khan was published by Sir E. Denison Ross and recently has been published for Karachi.

performs, if no miracle, yet a wonderful action.

I do not mean a mere external union. Truth and falsehood, wisdom and foolishness, pearls and common shells, through far distant from each other, have a superficial similarity. I mean a spiritual union; and this is only possible in the harmonious, and to recognize it is difficult, and to weigh is still more so.

For this reason his Majesty does not care for poets; he attaches no weight to a handful of imagination. Fools thinks that he does not care for poetry, and that for this reason he turns his heart from the poets. Notwithstanding this circumstance, thousands of poets are continually at court, and many among them have completed a diwan, or have written a masnawi.¹

Some nobles of Akbar's reign were famous poets and they enriched the literature of the period by their compositions. Some poets were in the service of the nobles and they received patronage from them.

Akbar had a number of courtiers who were good poets of Hindi, such as Rajah Birbal, Rajah Todar Mal, Rajah Askaran, Rai Manohar, Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan and Miyan Tansen. All these poets except Miyan Tansen attained the

1 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 617-18.

rank of nobility in Akbar's time. Abdurrahim was the most celebrated poet at Akbar's court and he enjoyed a high rank among the Hindi poets of the age. He tried successfully all forms of Hindi poetic composition and was the author of 'Rahim-vilas', 'Rahiman-Vinod', 'Rahim Kavitaawali', 'Rahim Ratnawali' and 'Dohawali'. His 'Dohawali' is even now very popular.¹ It is said that he had another work, entitled 'Satsai' which in the form available to us does not contain more than 300 dohas. Rahim was also a sound scholar of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit besides Hindi. He also wrote romantic poetry and his work entitled Madnastak is well-known.² He was on friendly terms with Tubsī Das and some of the other prominent poets of the age. As poet he wrote under the takhallus 'Rahim'. People by a happy comparison called him Mir Ali Shar.³

Rai Mahohar was a notable noble at the court of Akbar. He was a gifted poet of Persian as well as Hindi.

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- 1 For his compositions in Hindi see Saryu Prasad Agarwal's 'Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi', pp. 133-147 and 'Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas' by Ram Chandra Shikla, p.262; Maasiri-Rahimi, Vol.II. pp. 555-556.
 - 2 'Akbar the Great', Vol.III by A.L.Srivastava (first edn. 1973) pp. 138-139.
 - 3 Ain I, Bloch, p.360; See Ain I, Bloch. p. 107, n.6. Mir Ali Sher was the Wazir of Sultan Husayn Miraa, king of Khurasan (1470 A.D. to 1505 A.D.) and the patron of the poet Jami. For Abdurrahim's Persian poetry see Dnakhiral-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I folio-11a (Aligarh Persian Ms. No. 32/74, Habibganj collection).

He received the title of Mirza Mahohar. The author of Dhakhirat says that he was a good poet and his poetical compositions have been copied in Janangirnamah (Turuk-i-Janangiri). His diwan was very famous and was known as 'Diwan-i-Manohar'.¹ He grew up and was educated in the service of the eldest prince (Salim) and attained a great proficiency. He composed poetry under the takhallus (pen-name) 'Tausani', and was 'an exceedingly able young man'.² Badaoni says that the 'Attic Salt' of his verses was the effect of his native land.³ He possessed wonderful personal beauty and extraordinary intellectual power. Badaoni says that although he was not acceptable to the emperor, he had poetic genius.⁴ Abul Fazl says that Rai Manohar wrote Persian verses and was called at court Mirza Mahohar.⁵ ✓

- 1 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 219-221 (Karachi Publication). In this work he is called Rai Manohar Das. ✓
- 2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 259; Maasir-ul-Umarah. Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p. 837.
- 3 He was the son of Rai Lonkaran, Rajah of Sambhar, a famous salt tract in Rajputana, on the borders of the Jodhpur and Jaipur states.
- 4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 278-79.
- 5 Ain I, Bloch, p. 554. Rai Mahohar has been included among the meansabdars of ₹ 400 in Abul Fazl's list of grandees but Nizamuddin includes him among the nobles (amirs) of Akbar's reign.' See Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi by Saryu Prasad Aggarwal, pp. 49-51.

Rajah Todar Mal was a noble of high rank in the service of Akbar. Some poems ascribed to him have come down to us.¹

Rajah Birbal (Birbar) was a Brahman of the name of Mahesh Das. He was very poor but clear-headed and remarkable for his power of apprehension. He attained the rank of nobility in Akbar's service. Badaoni says that he came soon after Akbar's accession from Kalpi to Court, where his bonmots in a short time made him a general favourite. His Hindi verses were much liked and Akbar conferred on him the title of 'Kaviraj' and had him constantly near himself.² He was ready witted and numerous. In Hindi language a brave person (Bahadur) is called Birbal. His many dohas, saranga, vishanpad, moya in Hindi are famous. He wrote his poetry under the takhallus 'Brahma'. The author of Maasir writes it as 'Baramba' and says that his poetry and ditiches were well-known.³

Bairam Khan was a noble of high rank in Akbar's reign. He was a poet of no mean pretensions and was endowed

- 1 Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi by Saryu Prasad Aggarwal, pp. 51-75.
- 2 Ain I, Bloch, p. 442. The (Persian) Poet Laureate (Faizi) had the title of 'Malik-ush-Shuara' or 'King of Poets' and Hindi Poet-Laureate Rajah Birbar had the title of Kaviraj; Dhakhirat, Vol. I, pp. 183-184 (Karachi Publication, 1961).
- 3 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol. I, p. 423; 'Akbar the Great' Vol. III, pp. 138-139 by A.L. Srivastava.

with a talent for scholarship and love of poetry.¹ ✓
 He was a liberal patron of scholars and is said to have bestowed on three eminent men of letters and art, namely Hashim Qandahari, Ram Das of Lucknow and Hijaz Khan Badaoni- one lakh of tankas each.² ✓ Learned men came from all parts of the world to visit him and departed happy after receiving gifts bestowed by his hand, as open as ocean itself and his court, lofty as the sky, was the resort of the Lords of learning and all perfect qualities.³ ✓
 Badaoni says that 'his existence was, indeed an honour to the age in which he lived. He has composed a diwan in Persian and Turki which is in every hand, as his verses are on every tongue.'⁴ ✓ In 967 A.D. Bairam Khan published as his own a ghazal of Hashim Qandahari, putting the lines into a different arrangement. He ordered 60,000 tankas of money to be paid to him by way of compensation and asked if the sum was sufficient. Hashim Beg by way of joke said, 'Sixty is too little', ✓ Upon this Bairam Khan increased the sum by 40,000 and gave him altogether a complete lac.⁵ ✓

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 332.

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, p.190 (Pr.Text).

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 265-66.
 He was all in all during Akbar's regency that is why the author refers to the court of Akbar as his (Bairam's) court.

✓ 4 Ibid. ✓ See p 601 f.n. 1

5 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 36. ✓

Mirza Jani Beg of Thattah, who was a noble in the reign of Akbar, was a poet and composed poems under the takhallus 'Halimi'. Many of his gazals were famous.¹

Mirza Ghazi, son of Mirza Jani Beg, was also a poet like his father. He was also a great noble in Akbar's service. He wrote under the takhallus of 'Vaqa'i', which he had bought of a Qandahar poet. Many poets like Kalibi of Amul; Mulla Murshid-i-Yasdjirdi; Mir Niamatullah Vacili; Mulla Asad Qissa-Khwan and especially Fughfuri of Gilan enjoyed his liberal patronage, Fughfuri afterwards left him because his verses were too often used for dakhli.²

Mirza Rustam Safawi who was a noble of the rank of 5,000 in the reign of Akbar was very fond of poetry and was himself a poet. He wrote under the Takhallus of 'Fidai'. He was a man of the world and understood the spirit of the age.³

Mirza Qawamuddin Jaafar (Asaf Khan III) was the nephew of Ghiyasuddin Ali Asaf Khan (Asaf Khan II) and was the son of Mirza Badi-uz-Zaman. He rose to the rank of nobility in

1 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol. I, p. 181 (Karachi Publ. 1961); Ain I, Bloch, pp. 391-92; Maasir-ul-Umarah Eng. Tr. Vol. I. p. 747.

2 Ain I, Bloch. p. 392; Dakhli, or entering in the skilful use which a poet makes of verses, or parts of verses, of another poet. See Ain. I, Bloch. p. 108, note 8.

3 Ain I, Bloch, p. 329. Emperor Shahjahan, in the beginning of his reign pensioned him off as too old at 120,000 Rupees per annum. He died in 1051 A.H. at Agra.

Akbar's reign. He had a poetical vein.¹ His poetical compositions are found in the Dhakhirat-ul-Khawanin.²

He translated into prose the masnawis (narrative poems) of Khusrau-Shirin and Laila-Majnun into prose.³

The author of ~~Maasir~~ ^{Maasir} says that he was supreme in every science and knowledge. He could read a whole series of lives at a glance. He had great power in poetry and in polite literature. In brief of a number of persons no-one has better treated than he the subject of Khusrau and Shirin since the days of S. Nizami of Ganj.⁴

Badaoni says that Jafar Beg was well-known as Asaf Khan the Qazwini and 'his poetic genius was greater than that of all his contemporaries, but is restricted by not being exercised, owing to his love of pleasure and ease and the great made upon his time by official business. He is also moderately fond of learning. Had he be a man of one occupation, he would have enchanted the hearts of many of the poverty, stricken people of this time, which would /

1 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, pp. 636-37; Muntakhab-ut Tawarik, Vol.III. Tr. by Haig, pp. 299-302. ✓

2 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 187-189 (Karachi Publ.)

3 Ibid. The author of Dhakhirat- calls him Mirza Mohammad Jafar. ✓

4 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p. 286. In this work he is called Mirza Qiwanuddin Jafar Beg. Qiwanuddin was his original name. Badaoni also writes him in the similar manner.

probably have been worth to him forty tumans in cash (then equivalent to £ 120).¹ ✓

Khanjar Beg Chaghtai wrote a masnawi of three hundred couplets on his own condition and containing also the praise of the emperor. Dadaoni says that 'he was a versatile man, unequalled in the art of war, in calligraphy, in poetry, in the composition of enigmas, in general knowledge, in the use of astrotabe, in astronomy and in handling figures.'² He was an old noble of the Mughal dynasty and was alive in the reign of Akbar. The author of Dhakhirat says that he was a poet and his masnawi on the dancing girls (Zanan-i-Akhara) was famous.³ ✓

Mir Mohammad Khan-i-Kalan who was well-known for his high rank and position belonged to the rank of nobility of Akbar's reign. He wrote verses under the takhallus 'Ghaznawi.' His assemblies were always attended by learned men and poets. In spite of his constant employment in administration, he found time occasionally to compose poems and was able to collect a large diwan of his poems.⁴ ✓

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- 1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 299-302. Whenever he made any considerable sum of money by his poetry he squandered it. It seems from his compositions that Asaf Khan wrote, his poetry under the takhallus 'Ja'far'.
 - 2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 310-15.
 - 3 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, p. 229. ✓
 - 4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 396-97; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, pp. 155-56; Ain I, Bloch, p. 339. ✓

He used to say to emperor Akbar, 'The boast of your reign is this that a man like me has lived in it.'¹ The author of Maasir says that he was a very accomplished man and composed poetry both in Turkish and Persian. He composed a diwan, consisting of odes and gazals. He was an ardent admirer of elaborate compositions, pleasant and sweet songs and a patron of master-artists.²

Mirza Aziz Kokah, entitled Khan-i-Azam who was a foster brother of Akbar composed poems.³ He was a noble of the rank of seven thousand. He was well-known for his varied accomplishments and gifts and Badaoni says that there was no other amir who was regarded as his equal in depth of understanding or in capacity.⁴

Zain Khan Kokah who was a noble of the rank of Five Thousand composed poems.⁵ Another noble Chalma Beg who had the title of Khan-i-Alam was a poet and composed poems under the takhallus of 'Hamdami' (in allusion to the name of his father).⁶

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 396-97. ✓

2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, pp. 155-56. ✓

3 Ain I, Bloch, p. 346.

4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 388-99; Persian Text, p. 281.

5 Ain I, Bloch. p. 369; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 327.

6 Ain I, Bloch. p. 411; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p.432.

Ashraf Khan Mir Munshi who was a noble of high rank in the reign of Akbar was a poet of no mean pretensions. His name was Mohammad Asghar.¹ He was one of the most trusted among the nobles. Badaoni says that 'it is a pity that he should have merited the name of poet, but since he had natural poetical ability, ~~the~~ some verses by him are quoted.²

Hakim Abul Fath who was a physician and reached the rank of nobility in Akbar's reign was also a poet. He had a profound contempt for old Persian poets. He called Anwari diminutively Anwariyak and of Khaqani he said that he would give him a box on the ears if he were to come to him to rouse him from his sleepiness and would send him to Abul Fazl, who would give him another box and both would then show him how to correct his verses.³

Shah Fanai, son of Mir Najafi, who was a noble at Akbar's court appears to be the poet Fanai mentioned in Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh (vol.III, Pr. Text, p.296; Eng. Tr. 407-8) Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Vol.II. Tr. 748-49) and Mirat-ul-Alam. Once he said in Akbar's presence that no one surpassed him in the three C's- Chess, Combat, composition- when the emperor replied that he had forgotten a fourth, viz., conceit.⁴

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 424.

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 254-55. ✓

3 Ain I, Bloch, p. 469; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III (Pr. Text), p. 167.

4 Ain I, Bloch, p. 471. ✓

Badaoni also says that Fanai was a Chaghtai of noble descent and he wrote a diwan. His poetry was of the character of that of the debauched Chaghtai nobles.¹

Nizamuddin calls him Fanai, Mullakhurd Zargar (goldsmith). He says that he spent all his life at Akbar's court and was first in the service of Mirza Askari.²

Mirzada Ali Khan, son of Muhtaram Beg, who rose to the dignity of a noble under Akbar was a poet. He was killed in a fight with the Kashmiris who defeated an imperial detachment under Syed Abdullah Khan.³

Sadri-Jahan Mufti who rose to the rank of Two Thousand under Akbar was a poet and composed poems but in the end of his life, like the historian Badaoni, he notwithstanding his poetical gifts and his great aptitude for writing poetry, repented on his former devotion to the art and gave up poetry because it was against the spirit of Mohammadan law.⁴ The following opening couplet of a gasidah is by him:

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 407-8.

2 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De. pp. 748-49.

3 Ain I, Bloch. p. 491; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, p. 326. Badaoni places his death in 996 A.H.

4 Ain I, Bloch. p. 522; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III. Haig, pp. 198-200; Maasir-ut-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, p. 80.

' May each hair of my beloved's locks,
 O, God, become an affliction,
 And may my heart be afflicted with each
 One of those afflictions.'¹

Sani Khan of Herat had a poetical frame of mind. He was in the beginning a qalander (hermit) and afterwards became an amir in the reign of Akbar. His real name was Ali Akbar. He translated Kafia (Muslim Theology) by Shaikh Jamaluddin in verse. Badaoni says that he was a fair poet but a heretic and like Tashbihi (a poet) of Kashan, wrote treatises on the man of the millenium according to the Naghtawi dectrines. He also versified a treatise on Sufism.² Sani Khan also at the end of his life repented of writing poetry.³

Hakim Ain-ul-mulk of Shiraz who was a noble and a physician at the court of Akbar was also a poet. He was a learned man and a clever writer. He traced his origin on his mother's side to the renowned logian Muhaqqiq-i-Dawwani.

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 198-200.

2 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, p.230; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Pr.Text, p.206. Both Sani Khan and Tashbihi were Iranis and Shias. To Badaoni who was an ortnodox Sunni every Shia was a heretic; Ain I.Bloch, p.532.

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 285-287.

He wrote his poetical works under the nom-de-plume (takhallus) of 'Dawa'i'.¹ He was a friend of historian Badaoni. Some verses were written by him when Badaoni was escorting him to the gate of the garden of the late Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad² in the Subah of Lahore. He wrote them and gave them to the historian as a keep sake when he bade him farewell just before he started in 1593-94 from Lahore for the Deccan on his mission to Rajah Ali Khan of Khandesh.³

Ghiyasuddin Beg of Tahrān who got the title of Itmaduddaulah in the reign of Jahangir was Nurjahan's father (father-in-law of emperor Jahangir) gradually attained the rank of One thousand under Akbar and thus was included in the rank of nobility. He was a poet. He initiated the old classics. When he was dying Nurjahan asked her father, pointing to the emperor Jahangir whether he recognised him. Ghiyas Beg quoted in answer a verse from Anwari-
'If one who is blind from birth stood here,
he would recognise His Majesty by his august forehead.'

Ghiyasuddin was a clever correspondent and is said to have written a beautiful shikasta hand. He never was idle but wrote a great deal.⁴ According to the author of Maasir,

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 537.

2 He was the author of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari.

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p.230.

4 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 571-574.

Ghiyas Beg did not compose poetry but he was a diligent student of the early poets. He was greatly skilled in elegant composition and wrote in a bold and Shikasta hand. He understood business and was a good writer.¹

Mir Masum of Bhakhar reached the rank of nobility during Akbar's reign. He was a friend of the historian Nizamuddin Ahmad. Mir Masum was well-known as a historian as well as a poet. He wrote under the takhallus (pen-name) of 'Nami'. He composed a diwan, a masnawi, entitled 'Madan-ul-afkar' (The Mine of Thoughts) in the metre of Nizam's Makhzan-ul-Asrar. The author of the Riyaz-ush-Shnara says that he composed a Khamsa and the Tazkira by Taqi says the same; viz. one masnawi corresponding to the Makhzan; the Husn O Naz to the Yusuf Zulaykha; the Pari Surat to the Laili Majnun and two others in the imitation of the Haft Paikar and Sikandarnamah.² Nizamuddin says that he had a diwan of verses and masnawis.³ Badaoni calls him Mir Mohammad Masum Safavi and says that he was enrolled among the nobles of ^{the} empire. He was a most diligent student and had correct taste in poetry and in the composition of enigmas. Badaoni only refers to his diwan and a masnawi in

1 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, p. 1076.

2 Ain I, Bloch, p. 579; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng.Tr.Vol.II, pp. 62-63.

3 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De. p. 729.

the metre of Yusuf-u-Zulaikha.¹

Qulij Khan was a noble of the rank of five thousand under Akbar . For sometime he held the title of Jumlatu-l-Mulk.² He had poetical genius and facility in writing verse.³

Shah Abul Maali was a man of cheerful disposition and had good taste in poetry.⁴ Shah Abul Maali had a pleasant wit and he wrote poetry under the takhallus 'Shahidi'.⁵

Shamsuddin Atgah Khan, entitled Khan-i-Azam who was a noble of the rank of Five Thousand in the service of Akbar was a poet. 'Although his dignity was too great for him to be described as a poet or one given to poetry', says Badaoni, 'still, as he had poetic genius the following verses by him are quoted:

' My little tear, set not thy foot forth
from the house of my eye. ⁶

FOR WELL-BORN CHILDREN LEAVE THE HOUSE BUT SELDOM

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 498-508.

2 Qulij Khan was twice appointed as diwan.

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 263-265. Badaoni adds the word 'Ulfati' before his name.

4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. III, Haig, pp. 344-45. Shah Abul Maali was an amir in the reign of Akbar but as he rebelled several times, he is not included in the list of amirs by the contemporary writers such as Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin Ahmad. The later authorities, however, such as Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin and Maasir-ul-Umarah include his name.

5 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p. 136. ✓

6 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. III, Haig, pp. 308-10.

Ali Quli Khan Shaibani entitled Khan-i-Zaman, who was noble of high rank in the reign of Akbar was endowed with poetical talents. He wrote under the takhallus 'Sultan'.¹

Bahadur Khan Shaibani who was the younger brother of Ali Quli Khan Shaibani and was also a noble of high rank, had a poetical vein and wrote verses.²

Mirza Mahmud came to India from Mashhad during the reign of Akbar and was appointed to the rank of five hundred by that emperor. In the reign of Jahangir, he acquired the title of Tahawwar Khan. He wrote clear Nastaliq very beautifully and was also good at writing verses. The author of Maasir says that pleasant jests and several stories were current about him when the author wrote his work.³

Mir Abdul Hayy of Mashhad attained the rank of nobility under Akbar. He had some aptitude for poetry. He wrote an answer to that fantastical quatrain which was written.

1 Massir-ul-Umrah, Eng. Tr. Vol. I, p. 204; Ain I Bloch, p. 337 vide Proceedings Asiatic Society for September, 1868; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. III, Haig, pp. 331-332.

2 Maasir-ul-Umrah, Eng. Tr. Vol. I, p. 350; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. III, Haig, pp. 333-334.

3 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol. II, pp. 919-20.

by one of the accomplished men in the honour of Mohammad Hindal Mirza (brother of emperor Humayun). Badaoni says that he had a childish nature.¹ ✓

Mirza Ali Beg Akbar Shahi was very fond of learned and pious men. He had a poetical vein and composed verses.²

Shaikh Gadai Kambu who was the Sadr of the empire during Bairam Khan's regency and was a very powerful and influential noble of the empire, composed and recited Hindi Songs.³ ✓

Mir Sharif Amuli was an amir in the reign of Akbar. He was an accomplished poet according to Alam Arai but the author of Maasir says that there is no mention in any book of his being a poet, nor have any of his verses been heard by anyone.⁴ ✓

Mohammad Qasim Khan Badakhshi who was a noble in the time of Akbar was a poet. His pen-name was 'Mauji'. He was the son-in-law of Mir Mohammad Jalabahan. He wrote a poem of 6,000 verses on the theme of Yusuf-u-Zulaikha, the famous masnawi of Jami.⁵ ✓

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 378-80.

2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, p 179.

3 Ibid., Vol.I, p. 569. ✓

4 Massir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, p. 814.

5 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, pp. 178-80.

Hakim Humam who was a noble and physian^{ci} in Akbar's time was unequalled for his understanding of poetry.¹ ✓

Many poets of great repute were patronised by the nobles of Akbar's reign. Yol Quli Anisi who was a Shamlu Turkman was patronised by Abudurrahim Khan-i-Khanan who was a great noble in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. Yol Quli wrote pleasing poetry and composed a masnawi. He died at Burhanpur in 1014 A.H. (1605-6 A.D.) and left behind him a masnawi, a diwan and several qasidahs in praise of the Khan-i-Khanan.² ✓ Ghazali of Mashhad who had books of masnawis and diwans of verses was patronised by Ali Qubi, Khan-i-Zaman. After the death of the later, he joined the service of Akbar. He is said to have written a hundred thousand couplets.³ ✓

Mulla Ghani Amani was for a long time in Gujarat with Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad who was a mansabdar of Akbar's reign. He at first assumed the nome-de-plume of Khawfi, which Nizamuddin changed, giving him the takhallus of 'Amani'.

1 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng.Tr. Vol.I, p. 606.

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, vol.III, Haig, p. 262; Ain I, Bloch, p. 578, he is described as Anisi Shamlu; Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De. pp. 732-33.

3 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De. p. 714. ✓

Afterwards he entered the service of Prince Salim.¹

Ulfati of Iraq was for sometime in Kashmir with Mirza Yusuf Khan who was a great noble of Akbar's reign. He was a poet.² ✓

Ulfati of Yazd was patronised by Ali Guli, Khan-i-Zaman who was great noble of Akbar's time. The Khan-i-Zaman gave him a thousand rupees as a reward for composing a couplet.³ ✓ Ulfati was patronised by Zain Khan Kokah, great noble of Akbar's reign. He was neither Ulfati of Iraq nor Ulfati of Yazd but a third person.⁴ ✓

Haidari of Tabriz came three times from Iraq to India and having profited much by the generosity of Akbar's court and finally returned to Iraq. The first time he came, he found a patron in Mohammad Qasim Khan of Nishapur who was a noble at Akbar's court. Though he made money in India he wrote a satirical quatrain on the country the gist of which was that in a country in which two man can feast for a rupee the worth of the men is not difficult to guess.

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 262. Khwajah Nizamuddin was the author of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari. He gradually rose to the post of Mir Bakhshi of the empire.

2 Ibid., p. 265.

3 Ibid., pp. 264-65.

4 Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De. p. 752; See note 4 on pp. 752-53. ✓

On his second return to India he found a patron in Mirza Aziz Kokah, Khan-i-Azam who gave him two thousand rupees for an ode. The third time he came to India he was patronised by Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujarat and received liberal presents from him for an ode on the victory of Sarkhej.¹

Baqai went to Gujarat and there entered the service of Nizamuddin Ahmad, the historian, adopting the takhallus of 'Mashghuli'. Nizamuddin changed it, giving him his present takhallus 'Baqai'. Baqai afterwards entered the service of Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan but when Badaoni completed his history (1004 A.H., 1596 A.D.) he had left his service and went to Agra. His poetry was good and easy.²

Ja'far was a Syed of Hirat and had a good taste in poetry and in the composition of enigmas. He was patronised by Shamsuddin Atgah Khan, a great noble of Akbar's time. Ja'far wrote an ode and composed an enigma dedicated to Mirza Aziz Kokah, (the son of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan and also a noble of Akbar's time) containing a list of his titles and prayers for his long life and prosperity.³

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 302, and Note 1.

2 Ibid., p. 273. ✓

3 Ibid., p. 298.

Dakhali came to India from Iraq in 1589 A.D. and was for five years in Akbar's service. In 1594-95 Dakhali went to the Deccan and found a patron in the Khan-i-Khanan, Abdurrahim, in whose service he was in 1616 A.D. He was a poet.¹

Wafai Isfahani was patronised by Jain Khan Kokah who was a noble of high rank in the service of Akbar.²

Haya'i who was a poet was with Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad in Gujarat. He is not mentioned by Nizamuddin in his own work but he is quoted by Badaoni.³ ✓

✓ Sayyafi was a poet. He was a servant of Bairam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, a great noble of Akbar's reign. Bairam Khan sent by his hand a sum of seven thousand rupees as an offering to the shrine of his holiness the Imam Riza (on whom be blessings and praise.)⁴ Sahmi grew up in the service of Mirza Aziz Kokah entitled Khan-i-Azam a noble of Akbar's time. Since he had been addicted to poetry from the age of ten, he had become thoroughly versed in it and was famous throughout the world.⁵ ✓

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 318-319, note 2.

2 Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De. p.747.

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 306-7, note 2.

4 Ibid., p. 335. ✓

5 Ibid., p. 336. He chose his poetical name from the profession of his father who was an arrow-maker; Tabaqat, II, B.De. p. 737 where he is called Mulla Sahmi Bukhari. ✓

Nizamuddin Ahmad says that Mulli Fahmi Tehrani was patronised by Khan-i-Azam. But it is not certain whether the reference is to Shamsuddin Mohammad Atagah Khan or to his son Mirza Aziz Kokah. Both had the title of Khan-i-Azam (Azam Khan). Both, however were nobles.¹

Sultan of Saplak (in Qaudaher district) had a disposition well attuned to poetry, he wrote his poetry under the takhallus of 'Sultan'. When he saw Ali Quli, Khan-i-Zaman who also wrote his poetry under the pen-name of 'Sultan', he presented to him an ode in his praise. The Khan-i-Zaman sent him as a reward for it a thousand rupees and a robe of honour, together with the request that he would, for his sake, change his poetical name. He sent back the gift and said, 'Sultan Mohammad is my name, which was given to me by my father. How can I give it up? Moreover, I wrote poetry under this name many years before you did, and obtained much fame by it.' After the Khan-i-Zaman had threatened and intimidated him for a long time, Maulana Alaaddin Lari, the Khan-i-Zaman's tutor suggested that an ode should be selected from his diwan and that if Sultan could answer it extemporaneously he should be pardoned. Khan-i-zaman agreed to this and was so much pleased with Sultan Mohammad's reply that he gave the poet twice the reward which he had given him earlier and dismissed him.

1. Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De. pp 736-37; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 405, note 1.

with honour. But Sultan Mohammad could stay with Khan-i-Zaman no more and ~~without~~ his leave came to Badaon and afterwards went to the Deccan.¹ ✓

Syed Shah belonged to the Syeds of Girmsir who settled in Kalpi. His poetical name was 'Syedi'. He was for sometime in emperor Akbar's service but it was his fate to leave it and afterwards he spent his time in the service of various nobles. When Badaoni wrote his historical work, he was in Kabul with Qulij Mohammad Khan, a noble of the period.²

Shakibi of Isfahan was ~~a poet~~ who was patronised by Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan who was a noble.³

Sarfi of Bawa was for sometime in Gujarat with Khwajah Mizamuddin Ahmad and then went to Lahore and there lived as a religious medicant. When Shaikh Faizi was appointed to the Deccan, he went with him and died afterwards.⁴ ✓

- 1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 327-331. Badaoni remarks that it was the height of discourtesy on his part to refuse the request so courteously made by a man like the Khan-i-Zaman that he would change his poetical name.
- 2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 343.
- 3 Ibid., p. 351; Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De. pp. 731-32.
- 4 Ibid., p. 361.

Talib of Isfahan was at first a religious mendicant and then he became an official and entered Akbar's service. He was a very sympathetic man and had good taste in prose and poetry. According to Maasir-i-Rahimi, he was often in company with nobles like, Hakim Abul Fath, Zain Khan Kokah, Shaikh Abul Fazl etc. Abul Fazl calls him Baba Talib of Isfahan and says that 'he is a thoughtful poet and is experienced in poetical matters.'¹

Mir Mahwi who was a poet was patronised by Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan and by his help and training he went on a pilgrimage to Makkah. His name was Mir Mughis.²

Mohammad Riza was for a long time in the service of Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan (Mirza Khan) he also knew astrology.³ Maulana Naziri was formerly in the service of the Khan Khanan but afterwards he went to Mecca.⁴

Mirza Quli Maili was for years in the service of Naurang Khan who was one of the nobles of Akbar. He wrote a diwan of ghazals and qasidahs.⁵

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. III, Haig, p. 367. For his compositions, see pp. 367-68; Ain I, Pr. Text, p. 607; Maasir-i-Rahimi, PreText, p. 233; Tabaqat, Vol. II, p. 751. Nizamuddin calls him Mulla Talib Isfahani.

2 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, B. De. p. 728; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. III, Haig, pp. 472-74; Ain I, Bloch. p. 655.

3 Tabaqat, Vol. II, B. De. p. 745.

4 Ibid., pp. 745-46.

5 Ibid., p. 726.

Ilmi, entitled Mir Murtaza was a poet and was one of the most trusted officers of Ali Quli, Khan-i-Zaman and for sometime held possession of Badaon. He was a endowed with learning and accomplishments and was immoderately fond of jesting.¹ ✓

Ahdi of Shiraz was for some time in Gujarat with Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad and afterwards he went with Hakim Ain-ul-mulk, a noble of Akbar's reign, to the Deccan. He has written different kinds of poetry, both long and short odes.² ✓

Urfi of Shiraz was a well-known poet of Akbar's reign. When he came from his country to Fathpur, he attached himself to Shaikh Faizi and after his death, to Hakim Abul Fath, a noble and a physician of Akbar's time. Afterwards on the recommendation of the Hakim, he was appointed in the servive of Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan with whom both his poetry and the esteem in which he was held made great progress daily.³ ✓

Mulla Hashim Qandahari was patronised by Bairam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan who was a noble of the rank of Five Thousand

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 385.

2 Ibid., p. 390. Hakim Ain-ul-mulk was himself a poet. For their composition, see pages 390-391.

3 Ibid., pp. 391-95. He had a wonderful good fortune with his poetry, for there was no street or market in which the book-sellers do not stand at the roadside selling copies of the diwans of Urfi.

in the reign of Akbar.¹ Hashim (storey-teller) was for a long time patronised by Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan (Mirza Khan). His poetical name was Muhtarim.² Mulla Piruz was in the service of Naurang Khan during the greater part of his life. Naurang Khan was a noble of Akbar's reign.³ Mulla Mohammad Lang was patronised by Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan (Mirza Khan). He had good manners.⁴ Ali Quli, Khan-i-Zaman sent one thousand rupees for expenses to poet Ghazali of Mashhad to come to India when the later was prosecuted in Iraq on account of his infidelity and intemperance. He was patronised for sometime by Khan-i-Zaman.⁵

There were many mansabdars in the service of Akbar who had great poetical genius but they could not reach the rank of nobility. We cannot wink at their contributions in the development of the literature of the period. The most important poet belonging to this category was Shaikh Faizi, the brother of Shaikh Abul Fazl. Though he was only a mansabdar of four hundred, yet he was the most celebrated poet of the period.

The author of Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin says that Shaikh Abdul Faiz Faizi was a great poet. He had knowledge of

1 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, B.De. p. 729. ✓

2 Tabaqat, Vol. II, B.De. p. 741. ✓

3 Ibid., pp. 751-52.

4 Ibid., p. 752.

5 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. III, Haig, pp. 239-40.

medicines, philosophy, rhetorics and perosody.¹ Akbar understood his genius and conferred upon him the title of 'Malik-ush-Shaura' (The King of Poets' or Poet Laureate). He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of Fayzi (Faizi), which he afterwards under divine inspiration changed to 'Fayyazi'. He was eminently distinguished in several branches. He composed many works in Arabic and Persian. Abul Fazl says that 'the gem of thought in his poems will never be forgotten.'²

The Mirat-ul-Alam says that Faizi composed 101 books. Badaoni estimates his verses at 20,000 and Abul Fazl at 50,000.³ Badaoni says that his diwan and masnawi contain more than twenty thousand couplets but they are despised and rejected to such an extent that no one, even in lawāne⁵⁶ studies his verse as they do of other base poets. This is stranger still that although he had spent the whole revenue of his jagir in having written and copied poetical works and sent some copies of them to all his friends, both far and near, no-body ever took a copy in his hand a second time. Badaoni also says that he wrote a hundred and one books. The author of Maasir, following Mirat-ul-Alam says that the

1 Dhakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Vol.I, folios-11b-12a (Persian MS. No. 32/74, Habibganj collection, Aligarh) Maulana Azad Library.

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 618-20.

3 Ibid, p. 619, note 5. Daghistani says in his Riyaz-ush-Shaura that Faizi was a pupil of Khwajah Husayn Sanai of Mashhad; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 416, 422.

Shaikh composed 101 books. [✓]He writes that people say that among the property left by the Shaikh were 4,300 books.¹ But Badaoni differs from him and writes that 'among the property left by Faizi were four thousand six hundred valuable bound books, all corrected, of which it might have been said with but little exaggeration that most of them were either in the handwriting of the authors or had been written in the author's time. These became the property of the emperor.'² ~~Abul~~ Fazl has an account of his brother's works in the third volume of his letters (Insha-i-Abul Fazl or Daftar-i-Abul Fazl) in which he says that his brother had written 40,000 lines in prose and verse.³ Badaoni, being an orthodox mulla criticises him and says that Shaikh Faizi 'wrote poetry for a period of exactly forty years but it was all imperfect. He could set up the skelton of verse well, but the bones had no marrow in them, and the salt of his poetry was entirely without savour.'⁴ Nizamuddin says that he was one of the greatest of learned men and saintly Shaikhs and in the arts of versification he had the white hand (of Musa).⁵ [✓]He had a diwan (collection) of verses containing more than fifteen thousand couplets and

1 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, pp. 514-15.

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 421; Pr.Text.p.305.

3 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p.516, note 2.

4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III. Haig, p. 415.

5 Refers to the miracle related in the Quran XXVII. [✓]The term is frequently used of a miraculous act or extraordinary power in a man.

some mashnawis. In the art of poetry he was the chief of the poets of the age; and in prose writing he was alone and unique.¹ ✓

Shaikh ✓ Faizi planned a khamsa- a collection of five epics- in imitation of the khamsa of Nizami. The first, Markaz-ul-adwar was to consist of 3,000 verses and was to be in reply (imitation) of Nizami's Makhdumu'l-assar; the Sulayman O Bilqis and Nal-Daman were to consist of 4,000 verses each and were to be in reply (jawab) of the Khusraws O Shirin and Laila O Majnun respectively; and the Haft Kishwar and the Akbarnamah, each of 5,000 verses, were to correspond to the Haft Paykar and the Sikandarnamah. Though he had composed the portions of the Khamsa, the original plan was not carried out.² ✓

In a short time he executed the preambles of all five works together with several tales. ✓ In 1594 Akbar ordered him to complete that Khamsa (Panjnamah or Pentad) and ordered that he should begin with the tale of Nal Daman. In the same year Faizi composed Nal Daman after ✓ the model Laila O Majnun and presented it to the Emperor together with some ashrafis. ✓ It was much commended. ✓ Badaoni says that it was

1 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De. p. 717.

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 548-550; Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1869, pp. 137,142. ✓

very much approved by the emperor and he ordered it to be transcribed and illuminated and read like the translations by Naqib Khan, 'Verily it was a masnawi, the like of which for the last three hundred years since Mir Khusraw no poet had composed.'¹ In spite of the endeavours of Akbar he did not complete the pentad and died on 5th Oct., 1595 A.D. (10th Safr, 1004 A.H.).²

1 For Faizi's compositions see Ain I. Bloch, pp. 620-633; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig pp 416-429; Tabaqat-i-Akbari) Vol.II. B.E. pp. 716-18; Darbar-i-Akbari, p. 370.

2 Akbarnamah, Vol.III, Eng. Tr. pp. 1014-15; Pr. Text, pp. 661-662; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe. pp. 410-411.

Hakim Misri who was a physician and a mansabdar of Four Hundred at the court of Akbar was endowed with poetical talents. Baḡaonḡi says that Hakim Misri wrote droll verses in Persian, an example of which is the following couplet which he wrote on Khwajah Shamsuddin of Khwaf, the diwan (He was a noble).

"What overbearing conduct is this of Khwajah Shamsuddin's? He intrudes, God forbid it; upon the domain of medicine!"

One day, on seeing an oleander, which in Arabic is called 'difṭa', in bloom, he uttered the following hemistich:

"The locks leap up like flame from the head of the difṭa."¹

Mirza Beg was a mansabdar in Akbar's service and was a nephew of Khwajah Aminuddin of Hirat, entitled, Khwajah-i-Jahan who was a noble. He was a poet and wrote under the takhallus of 'Shahri'. He withdrew from court and died in 989 A.H.²

Khwajah Abdus Samad Shirin Qalam (Sweet-pen) was though only the mansabdar of Four Hundred in Akbar's reign, his influence and intimacy were great and he was honoured and trusted. The author of Maasir says that it was stated

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 230-31; Ain I, Bloch, p. 550.

2 Ain.I, Bloch, p. 468; Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De. p. 748.

that the Khwajah transcribed, the Surat -ul-Itahlas (Quran, Sur. (XII) on a single grain of poppy. (denah-y-khashkhash).¹

Mohammad Sharif (Amir-ul-Umarah in the reign of Jahangir) was the son of Khwajah Abdur Samad and was a mansabdar of Two Hundred in Akbar's reign. He was a good composer of verses and was the author of a diwan. His takhallus was (Farisi'. Nizamuddin calls him Shafif Farsi.²

Sharif Sarmadi who was a mansabdar of Two Hundred in the fortieth year of Akbar's reign was a poet. He is mentioned in the poets of Akbar's reign in the Ain-i-Akbari. He belonged to Isfahan (in Persia). His rhyme was excellent and he also understood arithmetic.³ He at first assumed 'Faizi' as his poetical name, but when Shaikh Faizi submitted a complaint to the emperor on the subject he abandoned his pretensions and began to write under his present takhallus 'Sarmadi'.⁴ He had some poetic genius.

Hakim Nuruddin of Gilan was mansabdar of

He was a brother of Hakim Abul Fath who was a noble in the reign of Akbar. Under Akbar's orders he went away from His Majesty's service at the court and went away to Bengal and

1 Massir-ul-Umarah, Eng.Tr. Vol.II, p. 316; Ain I, Bloch pp. 554-55.

2 Ibid., p. 819; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De. p. 743; Ain I, Bloch, pp. 582-584; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, pp. 429-432.

3 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 581, 677. See his compositions on p. 581; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De, pp. 742-43.

4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, vol.III, Haigh, pp. 340-41.

there died. ✓ He wrote a diwan. His takhallus was 'Qarari'. Nizamuddin calls him Qarari Gilani. The author of Maasir says that he was an eloquent man and a good poet.¹ Mirza Ali Beg Akbarshahi was very fond of learned and pious man. He had a poetical vein and composed verses.² Shaikh Qadai Kambu who was the Sadr of the empire in the regency of Bairam Khan had a pleasant wit and he acquired excellences and the possession of the current sciences. He also composed and recited Hindi songs.³

Firuz of Kabul was a mansabdar of Two Hundred in the service of Akbar. He was brought up in the household of Mirza Mohammad Hakim, Akbar's brother and came from Kabul to India with Ghazi Khan of Badakhshan in the early years of Akbar's reign. He composed poems. Badaoni says that he was moderately skilled in penmanship.⁴

Padshah Quli who was a mansabdar of in Akbar's reign and was the son of Shah Quli Khan Naranji who was a great noble of the time, ^{had} a poetical bent of mind.

1 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, B.De. p. 735; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p. 109.

2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p.179.

3 Ibid., p. 569.

4 Ain I, Bloch, p. 593; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 409-10.

The following verses are excerpts from his works:

"Such sweetness has the Beauty which
known no beginning conferred on the lovely,
That love reaches a stage at which
it gladly relinquishes life."

He wrote under the poetical name of 'Jazbi'.¹

Tagiuddin of Shustar was a mansabdar of
in the service of Akbar. He was a member of Din-i-Ilahi.
He was well versed both in those sciences which call for
the exercise of reasoning faculty and in traditional
knowledge. He was well acquainted with poetry and had poetic
genius. He reduced Shahnamah into prose in response to
Akbar's orders. He was also known as Tagi Mohammad or
Mulla Taqiya. The following couplets are his

" If she gives me not the power to cast a glance
on her face,

Then at least with sugar shall I fill my mouth,
with the thought of her lips.

While like her she has planted me on the dust,

Where are my hands and heart, that I shall place dust on my
head. ✓

I am ~~the~~ slave of this custom, that in the **cross**-road of love,
To one who is not stricken down, does not his madness show."²

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 293-95;
Ain I, Bloch pp. 665,666. Jazbi means 'attractive'
see note 4 by Bloch on page 665; Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De.
p. 733. Nizamuddin calls him Jazbi Badshah Quli.

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 285-36;
Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De, pp. 743-44. ✓

Mulla Nuruddin Mohammad was one of the intimate companions and amirs of emperor Humayun. He was well treated by Akbar after his accession. He was given the title of Tarkhan by Emperor Akbar. He was called Safidoni, Since he held the paragana of Safidon in the sarkar of Sarhind as jagir. He had poetical talents and wrote poetry under the takhallus, 'Nuri'. He composed a diwan. The following verses are excerpts from his poems:

"Sad at heart am I sitting far from those smiling lips,
Like the rose-bud am I sitting with my head cast down to
my collar."

He was guilty in lampooning the officials in the city of Delhi. The following satire which he wrote, he chose to attribute to Qasim-i-Kahi, publishing it as a work of that poet:

"Miyan Jamal Khan is the mufti of Delhi,
But he never yet delivered one of his foolish judgements gratis;
He is the governor of the city under Tatar Khan,
And has just such another little donkey's face as his master's.
Shaikh Hasan the little decree-writer with his poisoned pen,
Spreads on all sides false news and slanderous whispers.

At the very time of prayer he performs, in a perfunctory manner, his ceremonial ablutions, when the reader has already ascended the pulpit,

It is he, it is he, it is he that possesses the city.
A vain babbler, with his harlots."¹

¹ Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, H-ig, pp. 275-77.

Mulla Nuruddin Tarkhan is mentioned as a poet in the Tabaqat. He was among the servants of Humayun and later became entlisted among the amirs of His Majesty Akbar.¹

In the reign of Akbar the poets of the period were more patronised by the nobles of the period than by the emperor. No doubt that Abul Fazl writes that His Majesty encouraged the poets but it appears to be partial view of the court historian. In fact some of the poets were so much disguisted in the imperial service that they were compelled to leave the service of the emperor and join that of the nobles, while others out of depression went to perform pilgrimage to holy places. The most eminent poet of the period Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi, though received the title of Malik-ush-Shaura, could not rise above a mansabdar of four-hundred. His younger brother Shaikh Abul Fazl became a noble of the rank of Five Thousand but Faizi could not even attain the rank of nobility. Other celebrated poets of the period like Khwajah Husain Sana'i of Mashhad;² Qasim-i-Kahi;³ Ghazali of Mashhad;⁴ Urfi of Shiraz⁵, Shikebi of Isfahan ⁶ etc. are not even mentioned as mansabdars by Abul

1 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p. 744, note,3.

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 634-35; Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De.p.719; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 287-291.

3 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 636-638; Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De. p. 725; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 242-248.

4 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 638-639; Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De, pp. 714-15; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 239-242.

5 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 639-641; Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De, pp. 719-720; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 392-395.

6 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 646-647; Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De. pp. 731-732; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 351-52.

Fazl though they are included in the list of the poets of the period. ~~Their~~ mansab must be below Two hundred if they held any mansab at all. Mir Farighi was a poet and was the brother of Amir Fathullah Shirazi who was a great noble. But Mir Farighi though was in the service of Akbar, is not mentioned even as a mansabdar.¹

Fine-arts

The nobles of Akbar's reign contributed ^{to} in the development of architecture, painting, calligraphy and music. Some of the nobles had beautiful hand-writing. They decorated books and walls of mosques with their handwritings. Those who were rich constructed mosques, temples, tombs, gardens, tanks, wells, inns and rest-houses etc. Some nobles also founded new towns and inhabited them. Thus while on one hand they served the public by providing them comforts of life and places of worship, on the other hand they left memorials of themselves for the coming generations. Some of the nobles were good musicians and a few of them formed new tunes of music.

Architecture

Qutbuddin Khan who was a great noble of Akbar's reign went to Ghazni, his native place in 1564. He spent his

1 Tabaqat, Vol.II, B.De. p. 732.

days in pleasure and then returned after laying the foundations of stations, gardens and buildings there.¹

He founded several mosques and other monuments at Lahore which was in his jagir.² ✓

Munim Khan, a great noble of Akbar's court, about 1574, when he was the governor of Jaunpur (in the east), constructed a bridge across the Gomti river there. Its construction was devised and carried out mainly by architects and workmen from Hazara in Afghanistan where Munim Khan had served for several years. It is a structure of architectural merit and consists of ten spans of pointed arches with substantial piers carried up into pillared pavilions partly projected over the water on brackets. Although built to serve a utilitarian purpose, the bridge reflects the aesthetic spirit that conceived and carried out the work. The Tarikh (chronogram) of construction of the bridge is 'Sirat-al -Mustaqim' (The strong Bridge) which gives the year 981 A.H. (1573-74 A.D.).³ He also built an Idgah at Jaunpur.⁴ ✓

1 Akbarnamah, Vol. II, Eng. Tr. p. 364; Pr. Text, pp. 241-42.

2 Ain, Vol. I, Bloch, p. 353; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Tr. Vol. II, p. 545.

3 Ain, I, Bloch, p. 334; Akbar the Great by A.L. Srivastava, Vol. II, pp. 277-78; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Tr. Vol. II, pp. 291-92.

4 Haqiqat-ul-Aqlim by Qadi Murtada Husain (Luck. 6th edn.), p. 677. An account of the bridge constructed by Munim Khan is also given by him. ✓

Rajah Todar Mal, a great Hindu noble of Akbar's reign built a tank near Agra. When Akbar started from Agra for an expedition to Punjab against Mirza Hakim, he took repose near Sarai Abad on the bank of the tank which the Rajah had built. The Rajah scattered largesse and presented gifts in thanks giving (1585 A.D.).¹ Rajah Todar Mal had also made a pond near Lahore.² He built great buildings in Jhusi (Prayag, Allahabad) but the course of time had destroyed them.³

Hakim Ali Gilani who was a physician and a noble of Akbar's time constructed a wonderful reservoir (hawz) in the 39th Regnal Year (1594-95 A.D.). A staircase went to the bottom of the reservoir, from which a passage led to an adjoining small room, six yards (gaz) square and capable of holding ten or twelve people. The wonderful thing was that the water of the reservoir did not enter the room. By some contrivance the water was prevented from flowing into the chamber. ~~✓~~ The author of Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri says that the water was kept out of the chamber by means of air.⁴ Men who went down to find the entrance of the room had much

1 Akbarnamah, Vol.III, Eng. Tr. p. 705; Pr. Text, p. 467.

2 Akbarnamah, Vol.III, Eng. Tr. p. 362; Pr. Text, p. 569.

3 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, p. 212. ✓

4 Iqbal. II, p. 441

trouble and many returned from half-way. Then Akbar himself decided to enter the room. He did not listen to the warning of men and dived to the bottom of the reservoir and passed into the room. When he entered the room, he found it lighted up and furnished with cushions, sleeping apparel and a few books. Breakfast was also provided. He stayed there for sometime and then returned. In 1017 A.H. (1608-1609 A.D.) Emperor Jahangir also visited Hakim Ali's reservoir and made him a mansabdar of Two Thousand.¹

Shah Budagah Khan was a great noble of Akbar's reign and reached the rank of Amir-ul-Umarah. In Deccan at the stage (muqam) of Darago in Mandu (Malwa) he built an imposing and strong edifice, having two storeys and much decorated it and gave it the name of Nilkanth. Its ruins remained for many years. Zannat Makani (Emperor Jahangir) often went to that place along with his harem on Jum-e-rat (Thursday night).² The author of Maasir says that this building was built inside the fort of Mandu, on the south-side, near the wall of the fort.

"One could spend one's life here engaged with water and clay. As perchance some pious soul may rest here a moment."

This verse was composed by Shah Budagah Khan and inscribed there. Under it Mir Masum Bhakkari who was also a noble

1 Ain, I, Bloch, pp. 520-21; Akbarnamah, Vol. III, Eng. Tr. p. 1000, Pr. Text, pp. 650-51.

2 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol. I (Karachi Public.) p. 210; Ain I, Bloch, p. 402.

inscribed in his own hand a quatrain of Omar Khayyam.¹

Muzaffar Khan Turbati was a noble of Akbar's reign and for sometime he held the post of Finance Minister (Wazir). He was a writer. He built a Jama Masjid near Katra of Miyan Rafiq in (Agrah) Akbarabad.² Blochmann says that he was told that the Masjid was in ruins and still went by the name of 'Nawab Muzaffar Khan Ki Masjid' or 'Kali Masjid'.³ The author of Maasir also says that the Masjid Jama stood in the Katra Miyan Rafiq but that name did not appear to be in use when the author wrote his work.⁴

Ali Quli Khan Shaibani (Uzbeg), Khan-i-Zaman who was a noble of the rank of Five Thousand at Akbar's court, founded the city of Zamaniya in the east. Zamaniya is now a station of East India Railway.⁵

The tomb of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan, a great noble of Akbar's reign was erected in 1562-63 A.D. near the tomb of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya in Delhi and decorated with green and blue tiles.⁶

1 Maasir-ul-Umarah Eng. Tr. Vol.II, pp. 745-46; Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, p.210.

2 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, p.212. Jama Masjid means 'a congregational mosque'.

3 Ain I, Bloch, p. 375. The Masjid now called the Jama Masjid at Agrah was built by Emperor Shahjahan in 1058 A.H. (about 1644 A.D.) at a cost of five lacs of rupees in honour of his daughter Jahan Ara Begum.

4 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng.Tr.Vol.II, p. 364; Beveridge translates Masjid Jama the Persian text into Chief Mosque. It appears that Jama Masjid was not the name of the mosque but as it was a public mosque, it is written as such by the historians of the period.

5 Akbarnamah, Vol.II, Eng.Tr. p. 478; Pr.Text.p.325; Ain I, Bloch, p. 337.

6 J.Ph.Vogel, Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort, p. 8. Cf. Akbar the Great, Vol.III, p.277 by A.L.Srivastava (1st ed.1973).

In 1565 A.D. the foundation of the Agrah Fort was laid down by Akbar. The planning and execution of the work was entrusted to Mohammad Qasim Khan, who was a great noble and held the combined offices of the chief of the admiralty and superintendent of public works (Mir Bar-wa-Bahr). The construction of the fort was completed in eight years under his faithful superintendence. It had no equal anywhere else and was built at the cost of seven crores of tankas which were equal to 35 lacs of rupees.¹

The Jama Masjid of Lahore was built by a great Hindu noble of Akbar's reign Rajah Bhagwant Das Kachhwaha. It was made to please the Emperor or to fulfil the needs of the Muslim community cannot be ascertained but the fact remains that a Hindu noble built a place of Muslim worship which reflects the cultural synthesis of the two communities, viz., Hindu and Muslim.² It was a great public mosque and the author of Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin says that it was existent in his time in a state of perfect preservation and people used to gather for prayer upto that day. But he includes the name of his son Rajah Man Singh also in constructing the great mosque at Lahore.³ The author of Maasir says that one

1 Akbarnamah, Vol.II, Eng. Tr. p. 373; Pr. Text, pp. 246-47; Ain I, Bloch, p. 412; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Vol.II, Eng. Tr. p. 512; Akbar the Great, Vol.III, p. 279 by A.L.Srivastava.
 2 Ain, I, Bloch, p. 353.
 3 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 103, 107 (Karachi Publication, 1961); Vir Vinod, 1279-80.

of his good works was the building of Jama Masjid in Lahore but the translator of Maasir, Beveridge is doubtful and says that the Jama Masjid in Lahore was built by Aurangzeb in 1674 and it seems unlikely that Bhagwat¹ would build a mosque.¹ Beveridge is wrong in presuming that Rajah Bhagwant Das did not build the mosque. The mosque which was built by Emperor Aurangzeb in Lahore was called the Badshahi Masjid.

Amir Fathullah Shirazi, entitled Azd-ud-daulah, a great noble of Akbar's reign made a mill which worked of itself and ground flour. He devised a mirror which showed strange figures near at hand and far off. He also invented a wheel which cleaned twelve gun barrels at once.²

Shaikh Farid Bukhari Dehlavi (who received the title of Murtaza Khan in the reign of Emperor Jahangir) was a noble of great fame in the reign of Akbar. He built mosques, rabats, inns, small villages, khanqahs (monastries), tanks etc. in Lahore, Akbarabad (Agra), Gujarat, Delhi and Faridabad, the last being named after him. In short wherever he went he built these useful institutions and appointed Imams, mu'azzins, sweepers etc. for them to be looked after

1 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p.405, and note 3 on the same page.

2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Tr. Vol.I, pp. 545-46.

and used properly. As the town of Fherowal was conquered by Shaikh Farid, he had the town re-planned and named it Fathabad. In the reign of Jahangir, Shaikh Farid left for Gujarat where he erected many buildings which were named Bukhara. He also built there a mosque and the mausoleum of Shaikh Wajihuddin of Gujarat which he hoped would remain until the day of resurrection. He added much to the beauty of Delhi and Faridabad by erecting there many fine buildings and tanks for the supply of water.¹ The author of Maasir says that he established a quarter and a great bath in the market place of Lahore.² ✓

Mohammad Khan Niyazi (Nawab Mian) was a noble at Akbar's court. He had planted a garden, built a lofty mosque and a grand mansoleum for his late father Mian Ahmad Khan Niyazi, in the town of Assi Berar (in the Deccan). He died in that town in 1037 A.H. (1628-1629 A.D.). The author of Dhakhirat says that although the work had been going on for twenty three years, the construction was still in progress when he died and had become a public haunt for beauty.³ ✓

1 ✓ Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp 126-138 (Karachi Publication, 1961); Also see article 'A treasury of biographical sketches (Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin) by M. Abdulla Chughtai, Islamic Culture, 1935, pp. 415-416.

2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Tr. Vol.I, pp. 525-26. The author of Maasir wrongly says that he built the mosque and cemetery of Shaikh Wajihuddin in Delhi. These were built in Gujarat.

3 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 160-164; See the article A treasury of Biographical sketches by M. Abdulla Chughtai, Islamic Culture, 1935, p. 416.

Mir Abul Qasim Khan Namakin (Tamakin) was a noble of great reputation in the reign of Akbar. He was given the district of Bhakhkhar in jagir for the first time in 1004 A.H. He built a grand mosque in Sakhkhar, opposite to Bhakhkhar in Sind and went on extending the same year after year. It was built in the 43rd Regnal Year, 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.) when he was appointed the governor of Bhakhkhar. He built a mosque and an Idgah both in Sakhkhar and Lahore.¹ He also built, a market place (Bazar) in the village of Enrasra (عیندرسرہ). He built a mausoleum for himself on a hill near Bhakhkhar in Sind and named it 'Suffah Safa' (صوفہ صفا) (The Dais of Purity). Mohammad Qasim Khan Badakhshi, a noble of Akbar's reign built a delightful residence in the capital (Agrah) on the bank of the Jumna (Yamuna). He and several of his descendants were buried in it.² ✓

Qalich (Qulij) Mohammad Khan was a noble of Akbar's reign . He was given Jaunpur in jagir in 1000 A.H. He intended to construct a lofty building in Jaunpur. While the digging work was going on a dome (Gumbad) was seen in which a hermit lived who said that he was the incarnation (Awtar) of Ram Chandra (a Hindu God of worship). Qalich

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- 1 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 198-199; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, p. 509; Ain I, Bloch, pp. 525-26.
 2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Vol.II, pp. 179-80 (Eng. Tr.). ✓

Mohammad died six months after this incident.¹

Mirza Muhammad Jafaar, Asaf Khan III, who was the nephew of Ghiyasuddin Ali Asaf Khan, was a noble at Akbar's court. He was very fond of laying gardens. The author of Dhakhirat says that he generally kept a flower in his hand sometimes he kept a branchlet (बेल चालता) in his hand.²

Sai'd Khan Chaghtai was one of the great nobles of Akbar's reign. He had many khwajahsaras (eunuchs) in his service. One khwajahsara, Khwajahsara Khwajah Ikhtyar who was said Khan's wakil, built many buildings, bridges, sarais (inns) and rest houses for the pilgrims (Musafir Khanas) in Patna. Another Khwajahsara, Khwajah Hilal who was in his service, inhabited the village of Anktah and built its four walls (Chardiwari) which enclosed many other fine buildings made by him and named Hilalabad (Bilalabad). He constructed twelve high seemly buildings towards the side of Mazar gate (Madar Darwaza) in Agra city. Sa'id Khan used to go to his house and often appreciated them.³

1 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 172-175.

2 Ibid., p. 190.

3 Ibid., pp. 190-193; See the article 'A Treasury of Biographical sketches (Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin), Islamic Culture, 1935, p. 417 by M. Abdullah Chughtai who writes the name as Sai'd Khan Chugbatta instead of Chughtai. He wrongly attributes the construction work to Said Khan himself which was in fact done by his eunuchs.

Itimad Khan Khwajasara was one of the nobles of Salim Khan Sur. Afterwards he entered the service of Akbar and became a noble. He populized a village, 6 kos (12 miles) from Agrah and named it Itmadpur. He built a large tank, a villa and many building there. He also built his mausoleum there during his lifetime and was buried in it after his death.¹

Khudawand Khan Dakhini had a good position in the court of Hizamul-mulk. The congragational mosque of Rohan-khera was built by him. The author of Dhakhirat says that it was of fine quality. Afterwards he entered the service of Akbar and attained the rank of nobility.²

Ram Das Kachhwaha, a Rajput noble at Akbar's court built a haweli in Hatiyapul, inside the fort of Agrah.³

Nawab Itmaduddulah of Tehran (Emperor Jahangir's father-in-law) who was a noble at Akbar's court, erected a mosque and a bath near the Neem Gate in Akbarabad (Agrah) and an inn between Akbarabad and Hilalabad. In Akbarabad, at the entrance of the Lahore gate he made a water tank. In Mathura he set up a village Gowardhan Nagar and in Ujjain

1 Dhakhirat-ul-khwanin, Vol.I, p. 216; Ain I, Bloch, p. 473; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Vol.I, p. 709 (Eng. Tr.).

2 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, p. 226; Ain I, Bloch, p. 490.

3 Ibid., p. 239; Haweli means an enclosure including several buildings.

he also built a hospice and a tank.¹

Hakim Ali who was a famous physician and noble of Akbar had built a reservoir (Hawz), having beautiful floor. He had also built a library (Khutubkhana).²

Darbar Khan, a noble of Akbar's reign had built a dome in Agra. When he died in 1569 A.D. in Agra, in accordance with his directions he was buried at the foot of the royal dog where formerly he had constructed the dome. He was a faithful servant of Akbar, therefore, he desired to be buried at the foot of the statue of that faithful dog of Akbar.³

Sadiq Mohammad Khan of Herat was a noble of Akbar's reign. He had made Dholpur- 20 kos from Agra (40 miles) near the left bank on the Chambal river- his home and had erected lofty buildings there and in its neighbourhood had set up many villages and built his own mausoleum with a high tomb there in his life-time which was intact at the time when the author of Dhakhirat wrote his work.⁴

1 See the article 'A Treasury of Biographical Sketches by M. Abdulla Chughtai, p. 418, Islamic Culture, 1935.

2 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 243-44. ✓

3 Akbarnamah, Vol.II, Eng. Tr. p. 496; Pr. Text, pp. 339-40. See note 1, the translator thinks that possibly the dog was the one who refused to eat till Akbar recovered of his wounds; Ain I, Bloch, p. 464; The Iqbalnamah says that the directions were given in his last moments.

4 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, p. 175; Maasir-ul-Umarah, vol.II, p. 662(Eng. Tr.); Ain.I, Bloch, p. 384.

Muhibb Ali Khan Rohtasi who had reached the rank of nobility during Akbar's reign, founded a place called Muhibb Alipur, near Rohtas in Bihar. ¹

Takhta Beg Kabuli, who received the title of Sardar Khan in Emperor Jahangir's reign, belonged to the rank of nobility in Akbar's reign. He had a villa near Peshawar called the 'Bagh-i-Sardar Khan'.²

Mir Mohammad Masum Bhakkari who belonged to the rank of nobility of Akbar's reign, had a great inclination for building and was himself an elegant inscription writer. At many places he built mosques, inns, asylums for the poor, bridges, wells, drinking water spots (Bawliyan) etc. Specially in Sakkar which was his native town he built great buildings and laid out fruit trees on both sides of the roads. On the bank of the river Punjab (Indus) which was 2 kos from the fort of Bhakkar, he erected a building which he named Sitasar or Satyasar and built a great dome over it. 'It had no rival' on the surface of the earth for its characteristics', says the author of Dhakhirat. He composed the date of its completion 1593-1594 A.D., 1002 A.H. (The Dome of the River). 'It is one of the wonders of the world and its Tarikh is contained in the words (گنبد دریائی) (Water dome or Gumbad Daryai) which gives 1007 A.H.) According to Ain. He established his own family

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 466; Akbarnamah, Vol. III, Pr. Text, p. 245.

2 Ain I, Bloch, p. 523. ✓

cemetery on the top of the hill and laid out gardens on all sides of it. This also was unequalled. He built a great Minar there. The Minar of Delhi was nothing but a small portion of it in comparison. It could ^{be} seen from a distance of 20 kos (40 miles). Near it he built a dome made of hard strong platform (Chabutara) which could not fall till the day of Resurrection'. He built tombs of his father and brothers in it and inscribed the ayats (quotations) from Quran and the traditions of the prophet as well as the ninety nine names of God. The author of Dhakhirat says that it was sixty years since that building was erected and it was still in good state and not a hole had occurred in it. Haweli building was not so strong but its door was very strong. He planted a garden in the area of 20 bighas near the Masjid built by his father.¹

Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhen of Thattah was a noble at Akbar's court. One of his ancestors Mirza Shah Husain Arghun repaired with Pacca bricks the old fort which was situated on the summit of the hill in the bed of the Punjab river (Indus) and he added a fine lofty rest house for the officials the ruins of which were still in existence when the author of Bhakhirat wrote his work. M. Abdullah Chughtai

1Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 200-204; See the article 'A Treasury of Biographical Sketches' (Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin), p.417, Islamic Culture, 1935. Masum's father Mir Syed Safai had also built a great mosque in Sakkar; Ain I, Bloch, p. 580.

in his article wrongly attributes the work of repair of the fort to Mirza Jani Beg.¹

Zain Khan Kokah, a great noble of Akbar's reign planted a garden in Badalgah which was in his jagir. It so happened that when Akbar was weighed in Badalgah (Solar weight which took place on 6th Moharram, 1000 A.H.), he ordered Zain Khan, the jagirdar of that place to convert the place of weight into a garden. Accordingly Zain Khan built a garden there and Akbar gave it the name of Zainabad.²

Shah Quli Khan Mahram, a great noble of Akbar's reign was formerly in the service of Bairam Khan and afterwards joined Akbar's service. Narnaul which was given to him in jagir, he made his home, adorned it with grand buildings and spacious tanks for water supply.³

Mirza Yusuf Khan built some residences near Srinagar and laid the foundation of an earthen wall. These buildings were erected in 1597 A.D. He had put up these beautiful buildings on the top of a small hill near Nagarnagar (near Srinagar) for the repose of the Shahinshah Akbar. He

1 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 177-178; Article 'A Treasury of Biographical Sketches' (Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, p. 416, Islamic Culture, 1935.

2 Akbarnamah, Vol.III, Eng. Tr. p.916; Pr. Text, p.600.

3 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, p. 181; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Tr.Vol.II, p. 776.

peopled it under the orders of the Prince (Salim). Akbar himself went to see the new quarters.¹ Mirza Yusuf Khan was a noble of great repute.

Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan Hishapuri belonged to the rank of nobility of Akbar's reign. During the time when he was the governor of Delhi, he repaired the canal which Firuz Shah Tughlaq had cut from the parganah of Khizrabad to Safidun and called it Nahr-i-Shihab.² Mirza Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan who was a great noble during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, built a tomb in Delhi which is now called Mila Burj, near emperor Humayun's tomb. He had built this tomb for his most faithful servant Miyan Fahim. He grew up with Mirza Abdurrahim's sons and was as pious as he was courageous. He died with his son Firuz Khan and 40 attendants in a fight with Mahabat Khan.³

Mahdi Qasim Khan, a great noble of Akbar's reign, had a villa at Lahore which was called Bagh-i-Mahdi Qasim Khan.⁴ Husain Quli Beg, entitled Khan-i-Jahan who was a great noble of Akbar's reign founded a city named Sihnatpur

1 Akbarnamah, Vol.III, Eng. Tr. pp. 1085-1088; Pr.Text pp. 726-727.

2 Ain I, Bloch. p. 353. This canal was again repaired in the reign of Shahjahan by the renowned Makramat Khan and called Fayz Nahr. During the reign of Aurangzeb, it was again obstructed but had been again repaired and enlarged by the English. (Asarus- Sanadid).

3 Ain I, Bloch. p.360.

4 Ain I, Bloch. p. 373; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, pp. 90, 252 (Pr.Text and Calcutta Review for October, 1869 (Jahangir's Death)).

near Tanda (in Bengal).¹

Hakim Ain-ul-Mulk of Shiraz who was a physician and a noble at the court of Akbar, built a masjid called Mirza-i-Masjid, also known as Padshahi Masjid in Old Bairelly, Mirza-i-Mohalla. The inscription on it bears the date 987 A.H. (24th Regnal Year of Akbar's reign). He constructed this masjid when he was the faujdar of Sambhal.²

Rai Manohar was a noble of Akbar's reign. When in the 22d Regnal Year Akbar visited Amber (modern Jaipur), Rai Manohar reported him that in the neighbourhood an old town existed, the site of which was marked by huge mounds of stone. Akbar encouraged him to rebuild it and himself laid the foundation stone. A new town soon developed there and Akbar called it after the name of Rai Manohar 'Mal Manoharnagar'.³

Mulla Nuruddin Mohammad Tarkhan (in the days of his authority) dug a canal from the Yamuna, (fifty kurua in length,) in the direction of Karnal and beyond that down. This was the cause of large additions to the cultivated area and a great increase in the prosperity of the people. As it was dug in the name of Prince Sultan Salim, it was called 'Shaikhunai'.⁴

1 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p. 649.

2 Ain I, Bloch, p. 537; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh Vol.II, p. 403 (Pr. Text).

3 Ain I, Bloch, p. 554; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Vol.I, p. 837 (Eng. Tr.).

4 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 274-75. Akbar used to call Prince Salim 'Shaikhu'.

Rai Surjan Hara who was a great Rajput noble of Akbar's reign, built a palace and a garden in Kashi, which are still existent. In the history of Bandi¹ (Surjan) he is described as a mansabdar of 2000 Zat o Sawar.¹

Rai Dugra who attained the rank of nobility in Akbar's reign, founded the city of Rampura and habitated it. He founded the city after the name of the favourite deity (ISHAT DEV) Ram Chandra. He was the son of Achaldas and is written as Rai Durgahan in Vir Vinod. Upto the 40th year of Akbar's reign he had reached the rank of 1500 Zat o Sawar.²

Rajah Gopal (Gopaldas) who belonged to the rank of nobility of Akbar's reign built palaces and gardens in the fort of Manchalpur, palaces in Jhiri and the fort of Bahadur-garh and Gopal Temple (Gopalmandir). Akbar gave him the honour of laying the foundation stone of the Agra fort.³

Khwajah Shamsuddin Khawfi who was a noble of Akbar's time, had built a family vault near Baba Hasan Abdal but the vault having been used for other purposes, he was buried in Lahor in Khawafipur which he had built.⁴

1 Vir Vinod by Kaviraj Shyamaldasji, p.111.

2 Ibid., p. 983.

3 Ibid., p. 1499.

4 Ain I, Bloch, p. 495.

Rajah Man Singh of Amber was a great noble of Akbar's reign. The nobles owned land also the ground on which the Taj at Agrah stands belonged to him.¹ When Man Singh was the jagirdar of Siyalkot, he repaired its old fort and beautified the city. The old fort repaired had been repaired by Mohammad Ghori and after that it was Man Singh who paid attention on its repair.² ✓

Shri Hanuman Sharma in his 'History of Jaipur' writes that the present five colour flag of Jaipur was designed by Rajah Man Singh while he was the governor of Kabul. Before this the state-flag was white in colour. He states that Manohar Das, an officer of Man Singh was fighting with the Afghans. He obtained from them five flags of different colours. These were blue, yellow, red, green and black. He suggested to Man Singh that the state flag of Amber should⁴ multi-coloured. It was accepted and since then the state banner of Jaipur had five colours. This statement has local support also.³

The palace at Amber is an object of architectural beauty among the Rajput palaces at Rajasthan. It was commenced by Rajah Man Singh and was completed by Jai Singh

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 363.

2 Haqiqatha-i-Hindustan by Lakshmi Narayan, p. 78.

3 Cf. The Thesis Rajah Man Singh of Amber by R.N. Prasad, Calcutta, 1966, p. 74.

I (1625-66 A.D.). Rajah Man Singh built a beautiful palace along with the Diwan-i-am within the fort of Amber. It was an imitation of the Diwan-i-am of Agra fort and like the imperial audience hall, it was made of red-stone. Pillars are almost of the same style except the brackets which are of the later Hindu style. Local tradition confirms that complaints were made to Akbar that the Rajah had imitated the imperial Audience Hall. To avoid suspicion, the Rajah got the pillars made of red stone replaced by marble pillars which are of inferior type. The roof of the Diwan-i-am has been made in Ladao style peculiar in Rajputana. The brackets are exquisitely carved out and they look quite supreme.¹

There were separate apartments for the queens of Rajah Man Singh in the palace. Each apartment had two rooms joined by a verandah. The inside portion of the palace has been made in perfect Hindustyle. Arches are filled by brackets like those in later Gupta period. The pavilion in the middle has been done in Rajput style with tapering pillars and arches. The six balconies also do not depict any trace of Muslim influence. The brackets, the Lattice work, their pillars and domes each has been topped by an inverted lotus flower which are in Hindu style. Rajah Man Singh had his personal apartments in the palace.²

1. Rajah Man Singh of Amber by R.N.Prasad, Calcutta, 1966, p.147.

2 Ibid., pp. 147-148.

The Jagat Sironony temple is one of the brilliant specimens of Rajah Man Singh's architecture. ✓ It is located in a remote corner of the village of Amber. It is a beautiful four-storeyed marble building. The temple is situated on a raised platform which is about 15 feet in height. The temple is approached by a long and stiff staircase. There is a big entrance gate called 'Toran Dwar'. The gate is highly artistic and full of beautiful sculptures. Two big elephants made of marble are placed on either side of the gate. ✓ There is a Garura Temple in front of the main temple. Various images of Hindu gods and goddesses are carved out on the gate of the Garura temple. The main temple according to the chief priest, cost Man Singh a sum of Rs. 9 lacs and 72 thousand. Like the Garura temple, the gate of the main sanctum is elaborately carved and painted with beautiful pictures of mythological gods and goddesses. The shutters are made of sandal and look quite old.¹ ✓

Rajah Man Singh was also responsible for either repairing or constructing a large number of temples and mosques while he was the governor of the eastern provinces.² He built a beautiful temple at Varanasi. Jahangir writes,

1 Rajah Man Singh of Amber, by R.N. Prasad, pp. 149-150.

2 Ibid., p. 150.

'Rajah Man Singh built a temple at Banaras. He spent 3 to 10 lacs of rupees from my father's treasury. . . I sent a reliable man to enquire everything about the temple and he reported that the Rajah spent one lac rupees of his own in the construction of the temple. At this time there is no other bigger temple than this. . . . I ordered a bigger temple to be constructed near it.¹ ✓ Jaipure Vansawali confirms it. It says that there is a building called Man Mandir just a few yars to the west of Dasawamedh Ghat Benaras. Prasad is of the opinion that the temple must have been situated in one portion of the building and on this account the whole building came to be known as Man ✓ Mandir.²

Man Singh founded the village Baikunthpur on the bank of the river Ganges. The mother of Man Singh was cremated at Baikunthpur. Baikunthapur is famous on account of a Siva temple built by Man Singh in 1600 A.D. in memory of his mother.³ ✓ The Baikunthpur temple is known as Gauri Shankar Mahadev temple. It is a massive stone and brick structure. The temple consists of a small rectangular sanctum

✓ 1 Jahangirnamah (Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri) Pr. Text, pp. 76, 8 a and 8b. Cf. Rajah Man Singh of Amber by R.N. Prasad, p. 153.

2 Jaipur vansawali in the state archives of Jaipur, p. 41. Cf. Man Singh of Amber by R.N. Prasad, p. 153.

✓ 3 Jaipur Vansawali in the state archives of Jaipur, p. 41; Kachhwaha's vansawali, p. 46(b) Cf. Man Singh of Amber, by R.N. Prasad, pp. 154-155.

made of marble and a baradari to the north attached to the sanctum. The baradari is covered by a big circular dome with four smaller domes at the four sides each supported on four square pillars. Over the central dome have been carved out red petals of the lotus flower made of red stone. On the ^{top} around the rectangular wall of the baradari are painted different scenes of the Ramayan. The petals of lotus, the attractive circular domes and the beautiful baradari reflects the artistic taste of the builder.¹

Man Singh erected a temple of Govinddeva (Lord Krishna) at Brindaban. The stone inscriptions state that the temple was built in 1577 A.D. It is a huge structure of imposing dimensions. The four sides of the portico are roofed by a pointed vault, consisting of overlapping brackets. The angles are accentuated with singular force and decision and the openings are picturesquely arranged and pleasingly divided.² Rightly remarks Fergusson, 'It is ^{the} combination of vertical with horizontal lines, covering the whole surface that forms the great merit of the design.'³ The original design was to build five towers which were never completed Jahangir says, 'the temple of Man Singh at

1 Man Singh of Amber by R.N. Prasad, pp. 155-156.

2 Ibid, pp. 157-158.

3 Fergusson, 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, p. 156.

Mathura is incomplete.¹ ✓ The pillars in the baradari are richly carved but the images thereon have been disfigured. The temple was built at a cost of half a million rupees.² Growse says that the temple is the 'most impressivex religious edifice that Hindu art has ever produced at least in upper India.'³ ✓ Fergusson remarks, 'It appeared to be one of the most interesting and elequent temples in India and the only one, perhaps from which a European architect might borrow a few hints.'⁴ ✓

Man Singh built a small fort at Manihari (on the route from Bihar to Eastern Bengal, which is north of Godda Sub division in the district of Santhal paraganas in the state of Bihar. The village contains several tanks associated with his memory.⁵ ✓

There is a large and well built Mughal gateway built by him at Bairat, 52 miles from Jaipur. Two cupoles on the upper storey of the gateway bear stucco paintings. These depict legendery scenes from the Sanskrit epics and scenes from the Mughal court; reception of Man Singh by Akbar etc.⁶ ✓

1 Jahangirnamah, Pr. MS. p.8b.

2 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol.XIII, p. 312.

3 Growse, Mathura, Chapter IX, published in 1883 Cf.

Man Singh of Amber by R.N.Prasad, p.157.

4 Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol.II, p. 156. ✓

5 Man Singh of Amber, R.N.Prasad, p.153; Santhal parganah Gazetteer, p. 395.

6 Man Singh of Amber by R.N.Prasad, p. 159; ✓
Archaeological Remains and excavations at Bairat, pp.15.

He also built the fort of Ramgarh, laid out a garden within it and sank a well inside the garden.¹

Man Singh founded three cities. In 1595-96 A.D. when he was in the east, he founded a city called Rajah-nagar, near Akmahal or Rajmahal and made it the seat of government. Akbar changed the name to Akbarnagar.² It is in the Santhal paragana of Bihar. It has many edifices associated with his name. Near the court building of Rajmahal stands the cemetery. On the west of it is the Singhdalan, or marble hall. Local tradition says that it was built by him and was known as Man Singh's Singhdalan. About 50 yards away from Singhdalan is an old mosque in good preservation. It was built in 2 months. JummaMasjid was also constructed by him. It is an imposing building and is a fine specimen of the Mughal architecture at Rajmahal. On the west of the mosque is a Siva Temple. Tradition affirms that it was built by Man Singh. About one mile south-east of JummaMasjid at Katghar, there is a well about 30 ft. in diameter known as Man Singh's well.³ ✓

In 1595 while he was marching to the new capital (Rajmahal), he encamped in Sherpur Hurra (in Mymen Singh), built a fort there and named it Salimnagar. Soon a fine city

1 Man Singh of Amber by R.N. Prasad, p. 159.

2 Akbarnamah, Vol. III, Eng. Tr. pp. 1042-43; Pr. Text, p. 696; Dhakhirat-ul-khwanin, Vol. I, p. 106; Vir Vinod by Kaviraj Shyamaldasji, p. 1282; Rajah Man Singh of Amber, by R.N. Prasad, p. 159.

3 Rajah Man Singh of Amber by R.N. Prasad, pp. 159-161; Santhal Paragana Gazetteer, pp. 397-401. ✓

developed around it.¹

He founded a town named Manpur in the city of Gaya. There is Mangarhi (Fort of Rajah Man) located on the bank of river Phalgun, but no trace is now visible except the bricks of the outer walls. ✓ Local tradition affirms that he built seven walls here but one *is* extant. It is 30 feet deep in diameter. Another edifice here is the Mahadeo temple with the big tank attached to it. The Saikatpur temple is bigger and more artistic than that at Manpur but the style of architecture is almost the same. The temple consists of a sanctum and a baradari. The baradari, ^{is} rectangular in shape and is covered by a circular dome on which is placed a lotus flower in full bloom. The main sanctum is covered by a vertical dome which looks quite pleasing. There are traces of a big garden enclosing the temple and the tank.² ✓

The most stupendous work of Man Singh is the extensive repairs and the remodelling that he carried out in the fort of Rohtas. The Rajah put the fortifications in complete repair. He deepened and repaired the reservoirs, erected a palace for his own residence and laid out a handsome garden in Persian style. The principal fortifications now existing are at Rajaghat and Kathautiya. The palace or mahal sarai covers a very large area about 500 feet north to south and

✓1 Akbarnamah, Vol. III, Eng. Tr. p. 1043; Pr. Text. p. 696; Man Singh of Amber, by R.N. Prasad, p. 159.

2 Man Singh of Amber by R.N. Prasad, pp. 161-164.

300 feet east to west. The architecture is typical of that of Akbar. The main gateway of the palace is towards the south and is known as Hathia pol or elephant gateway. It is perhaps the most decorative part of the palace. It is made of stone on which traces of beautiful stucco paintings are still to be seen. Two fine oriel balconies are attached to the gate which enhance the dignity of the place. Under these balconies are placed sculptured elephants about 3 ft. high. The main entrance of ⁹/feet wide leads into a beautiful guardroom. The baradari is quite imposing on account of its being symmetrically arranged part of the whole palace. Then there was a hall known as Takhta Badshahi used as Diwan-i-Khas by Man Singh. There were ladies apartments known as the Phulwari or Flower Garden or Khana Bagh.¹ It has a two-storeyed building known as Aina Mahal or Shishmahal. It is a beautiful building but unlike the Shish Mahal of Agra fort or the Amber palace, the Aina Mahal of Rohtas fort has hardly any glass on its walls. There are only twelve pieces of glass (2 feet square each) in the whole building. There were apartments for the Subedar's (Governor(s) kitchen, baths etc. Quite close to these apartments is the Nauch Ghar or Diwan-i-Am. It is an imposing building and consists of a large open courtyard surrounded on two sides with pillared galleries shaded by deep Chajjas in front. It was used as a dancing-hall. It seems more probable that it

1 Raja Man Singh of Amber by R.N. Prasad, pp. 164-166.

served as Diwan-i-Am. There is Phul Mahal used by Man Singh as his office. Near it, is a Ganesh temple, located in the area called Rajghat. About 50 yards east of this is Mahadeva temple. The fort of Rohtas is in village Akbarpur founded by Man Singh. The Persian and Sanskrit inscriptions on the gateway which give the date 1005 A.H. or 1596-97 A.D. must not be taken as referring to the completion of the gate way but it also relates to the completion of the whole buildings built by Man Singh at Rohtas which took ten years 1587-1597 A.D. The palace and the other monuments at Rohtas are really works of great architectural beauty. Malley says, 'the palace at Rohtas is of unique interest as being the only specimen of Mughal civil architecture.'¹

Among the mansabadars of Akbar's reign who could not reach the rank of nobility but contributed in the architectural field, mention may be made of the following. Pahar Khan, the Baluch who reached the rank of 200 upto the 40th year of Akbar's reign, built several edifices in Ghazipur when in 989 A.H. (26th Regnal Year), he was the fief-holder of that place. Dr. Wilton Oldham states that faujdar Pahar Khan was still ~~remembered~~ remembered in Ghazipur and that his tank and tomb were still objects of local interest.² Shaikh Khubu (Qutbuddin Khan-i-Chishti) who was

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- 1 Rajah Man Singh of Amber by R.N.Prasad, pp. 166-170; Shahabad district Gazetteer by L.S.S.O.Malley, pp. 150-152.
- 2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 593-94; Dr. Wilton Oldham, C.S., Memoirs of the Ghazipur District, p. 80.

a mansabdar of 350 in the 40th year of Akbar's reign built in 1013 A.H. the Jama Masjid of Badaon.¹ Shaikh-ul-Islam Fathpuri Chishti who in 971 A.H. on his return from Mekkah and Medina visited Badaon, laid the foundation of the building of a new monastery, 'the like of which', says Badaoni, 'could not be shown in the whole of the inhabited world. This monastery, having taken seven years to complete vaunted itself about the seven heavens'. The seven heavens are described by Badaoni.² ✓

Painting and Calligraphy

Many nobles contributed in the art of painting and calligraphy (beautiful hand-writing). Ashraf Khan Mir Munshi who was a great noble of Akbar's reign was a renowned calligrapher, perhaps the best of his age in writing the Taliq and Nastaliq character. He was exact in his style and was a clever writer. His name is included among the calligraphists of the age by Abul Fazl. He improved the Taliq very much. He was qualified to instruct the best calligraphists of the world in the seven different styles of penmanship. The author of Maasir says that he was skillful in letter-writing and in the niceties of words and did not deviate a hair's breadth in correctness.³ ✓

1 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 556-57.

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 73.

3 Ain I, Bloch, p. 423; also see Ain I, Bloch, Book First Ain 34, pp. 107-108; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 254-55; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p. 301. ✓

Khawajah Aminuddin of Herat, entitled Khwajah-i-Jahan who was a great noble of Akbar's reign was an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligrapher.¹

Mir Masum of Bhakkar, a noble of Akbar's reign, who was a poet and historian was also skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions and the Riyaz-ush-Shuara says that on his travels he was always accompanied by sculptors. From the coundries of Abarwan, Nakh, Shavan, Tabrez, Isphan to Qandahar, Kabul, Kashmir, Hindustan and the Deccan, wherever he went, he founded villages and wrote his own couplets. Accordingly on the facades of the fort of Akbarabad (Agra), the congregational mosque (Jama Masjid) of Fatehpur Sikri, in fort of Mandu (Malwa) his inscriptions are found. Syed Ahmad in his edition of the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri gives in full the inscription which he wrote on the side of the entrance to Shaikh Salim Chishti's shrine at Fatehpur Sikari.²

Zain Khan Kokah who reached the rank of nobility was accomplished in calligraphy and transcription.³

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 467.

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 579-80; Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, pp. 200-204; Also see 'A Treasury of Biographical sketches (Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin) by M. Abdulla Chughtai, p. 417, Islamic Culture, 1935.

3 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 327.

Hakim Humam who was one of the nobles of Akbar's reign was a good physician and was unequalled for his knowledge of calligraphy (Khat-Shinasi).¹

Among the mansabdars of Akbar's reign who were good painters and calligraphor but could not attain the rank of nobility the following few names can be mentioned. Khwajah Abdus Samad Shirin-Qalam (Sweet-pen) was famous in Iran as a painter and calligraphist. He visited Humayun when he later visited Iran and paid him his respects. Humayun was very much impressed by his talents and invited him to India. Though he could not accompany Humayun, he followed him in 956 A.H. to Kabul. In the reign of Akbar, he reached the rank of 400 upto the 40th year of his reign. Though his mansab was low, he had great influence at court. As an instance of his skill it is mentioned that he wrote the Surat-ul-Ikhlās (Quran, Sur. (XII) on a poppy seed (danah-y-khaskhash). Badaoni says that he wrote in full and in a good and legible hand, on one side of a poppy seed, the Suratu-l-Ikhlās and on the other side of it the argument of the chapter.²

1 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p. 606.

2 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 554-55. He is included among the painters of the reign in Ain I, Tr. p. 114, (Ain 34 Book I); Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 429-30.

Sharif (Amir-ul-Umarah) who was the son of the painter and calligraphist above mentioned named Khwajah Abdus Samad, was like his father a good painter. He reached the rank of 200 upto the 40th year of Akbar's reign. Badaoni says that he is unrivalled in beauty of penmanship and in painting. He bored in one poppy seed eight small holes, and passed wires through them and he drew, on a grain of rice, a picture of an armed horseman, preceded by an outrider, and bearing all the things proper to a horseman such as a sword, a shield, a polo-stick etc.¹

Mir Syed Ali of Tabrez is included among the pointers of Akbar's reign by Abul Fazl. He was a man of versatile genius, each page of whose paintings was a master-piece. He was a poet also and wrote under the Takhallus of Judai. He was more famous as painter than as a poet. Badaoni says that he could be described as a second Mani in India. The story of Amir Hamjah in sixteen volumes was illuminated and completed under his supervision. Each volume of it filled a box and each page of it measured a yard wide by a yard long and on each page was a picture.

1 Ain I, Bloch, pp. 532-83; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. III, Pr. Text, p. 310; Haig, pp. 429-430.

Music

Some nobles of Akbar's reign were good musicians and they invented new tunes of music. Some of them were fond of music and they patronised the musicians of the age. Zain Khan Kokah who was a great noble played on several instruments.¹ He (Zain Khan) was unrivalled in his age in playing Hindu (Indian) music, beating the drum, and other accomplishments of that sort. The author of Maasir says that Zain Khan Kokah was fond of Hindi poetry and music. He could play several instruments. He also composed poems.²

Baz Bahadur, the ex-ruler of Malwa, who reached the rank of nobility in Akbar's service, was very fond of Indian music (Hindustani sangeet).³ *

Rajah Ram Chand, the Rajah of Pannah (in Bundelkhand) was a noble in Akbar's service. He patronised the famous musician of the age, Miyan Tansen and the Miyan prospered in his service. In his natural disposition he was of such high spirit that he gave in one day a krur of gold pieces to Miyan Tansen. When Akbar heard about his talents, he sent Jalal Khan Qurchi to Rajah Ram Chand to bring him to court.

1 Ain I, Bloch, p. 369.

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, p. 327; Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, p. 1027.

3 Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin, Vol.I, p. 165. ✓

Rajah Ram Chand sent him to court and gave suitable presents to Tansen. He came to court in the 7th Regnal Year (1562-63) and was enrolled among the court musicians. He made great developments in music and in compositions. He was a good singer and a poet. Iqbalnamah says that Akbar gave him at his first assembly a krur of dāms (equal to 2 lacs of rupees). He further says that several thousands of his compositions are still extant and that many of them are named after Akbar. Abul Fazl only says that his Majesty 'poured gifts of money into the lap of his hopes'.¹

Bairam Khan who was a great noble of Akbar's reign although he had nothing in his treasury (When his power was on the decline), gave at one sitting a lack of tankahs worth in money and goods to Ram Das of Lucknow, who in music and song could be termed as second Miyan Tansen. He was one of close associates of Bairam.²

Khanjar Beg Chaghtai, a noble of Akbar's reign, collected information in the art of music regarding the systems of the Persians and the Indians and particularly regarding the six modes of Indian (Hindu) music- Bhairav, Malar, Sarang, Hindol, Vasant, Dipak and Magh. Badaoni says that 'this undertaking which is impossible except to wealthy

1 Akbarnamah, Vol.II, Eng. Tr. p. 280; Pr. Text, p. 181; Iqbalnamah II, pp. 181-82; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 345.

2 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.II, Lowe, p. 37.

men of high rank and exalted position, and indeed, there is now no trace of that information left in the land.¹

Rajah Birbar (Birbal) who was one of the nobles of Akbar's reign had perfect skill in music.² Mirza Ghazi Beg of Thattah, who was a great noble was skilled in music, and played nearly every instrument.³

Among the low mansabdars who could not attain the rank of nobility mention may be made of one named Furuza who was a slave of emperor Humayun. He reached the rank of 200 upto the 40th year of Akbar's reign. He played several musical instruments and composed poems.⁴

1 Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Haig, pp. 310-11.

2 Maasir-ul-Umarah, Eng. Tr. Vol.I, p. 423.

3 Ain I, Bloch, p. 392.

4 Ain I, Bloch, p. 593; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol.III, Pr. Text. p. 297, Haig, pp. 409-10.

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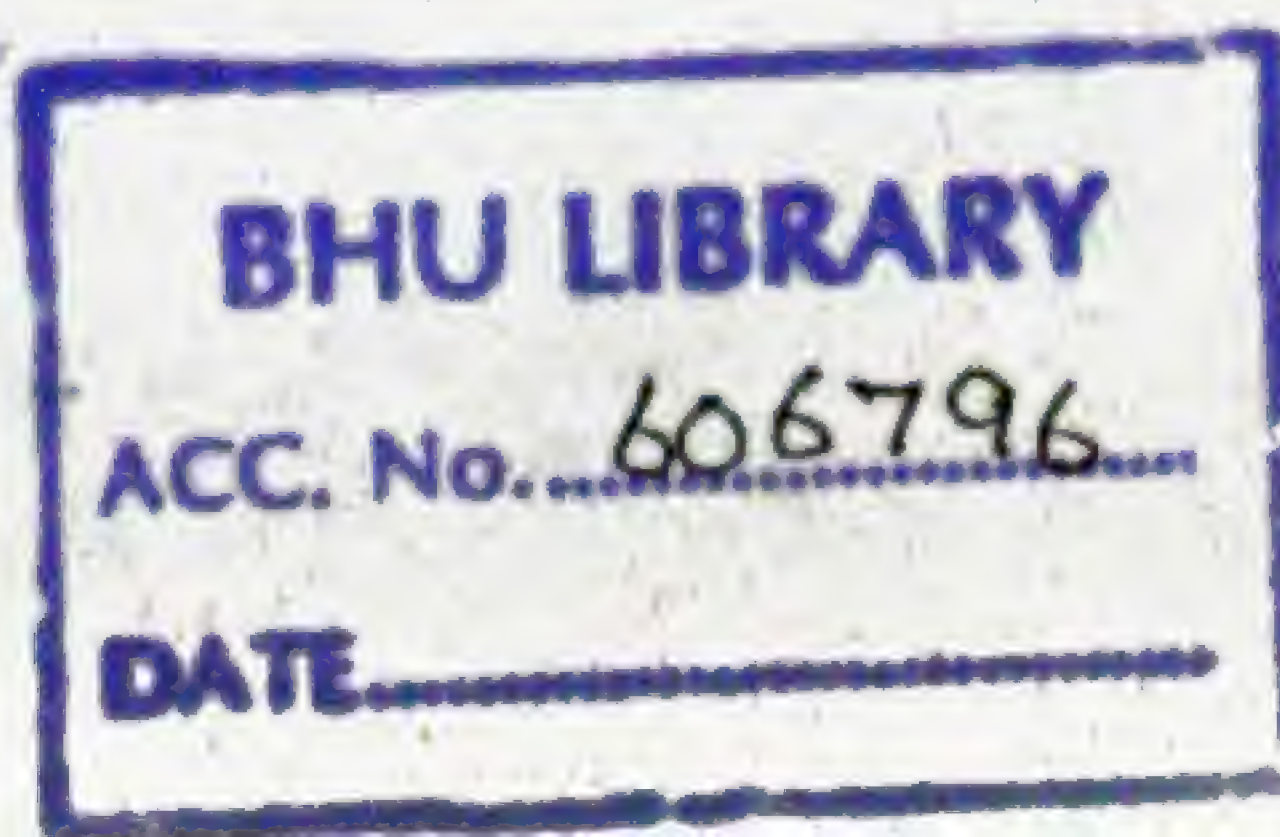
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NOBILITY UNDER AKBAR

(1556 A. D. to 1605 A. D.)



THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
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NOBILITY IN THE PRE-MUGHAL PERIOD

The Arabic-Persian term 'Umarah'¹ was used in the reign of Akbar for all mansabdars holding the mansabs² of 5,00 and above. The superior graded officials of the empire were called mansabdars. But the mansabdars under the mansab (rank) of 5,00 were not entitled to be called as amir.

In the present work the main emphasis has been laid to the mansabdars of the rank of 500 and above because only those mansabdars could reasonably be counted as members of the ruling class owing to their status and the part they played in the administration of the country. They formed the superior class in the political order and could claim to have a voice in the government. However, for a comparative study between the high mansabdars and the low mansabdars on certain issues, the mansabdars below the rank of 500 have not been excluded from the scope of study. Though technically the mansabdars below the rank of 500 were not called Umarah (Nobles), but they belonged to the official class, were holders of mansabs and formed the bulk of the official clan. They were imperial officers, were

1 Plural of Amir (Noble).

2. Mansab means 'rank' or position.

sent on military expeditions, helped the emperor in administration and accompanied him on hunting expeditions. There was no other difference except that they were not entitled to be called nobles. (Umarah)

According to the Institutes of Timur the word 'Amir' signified a prince or leader.¹ Amirs or nobles were the commanders of Timur's forces and his counsels in the state affairs. Their authority came next to the sovereign. Though Timur took their advice on vital issues of state policy, he was not bound to act accordingly. He considered his nobles to be his subordinates and adopted measures for reducing them to ~~complete measures~~ ~~for reducing them to~~ complete submission. At the same time, he kept his nobles happy by giving them jagirs, awards, and promotions from time to time. From among his servants Timur raised three hundred and thirteen men to the dignity of 'Amir'. With each of these amirs, another amir was attached who on the death of the first succeeded to his rank and dignity. The latter amir was called 'Kotul' or an Expecter of preferment. Out of these three hundred and thirteen amirs, four were appointed Beglar Begs (Generals or commanders of the First Rank) and one amir~~æ~~ was appointed

1 * 'The Institutes of Timur', Recorded by Sharfuddin Ali Yezdi, Eng. Tr. by Maj. Davy, p. 15 (autobiography of Taimur).

the Amir-ul-Umarah (commander-in-chief) whose jurisdiction was over all the other amirs and the army.¹

Twelve other men were also made amirs by Timur. The Senior most of them was called the twelfth Amir and was a commander of 12,000 men. The eleventh Amir was appointed the deputy of the twelfth Amir and the commander of 11,000 men. In the same way the tenth Amir was the deputy of the eleventh Amir and the commander of 10,000 men. Thus the first Amir was the deputy of the Second Amir and a commander of 1000 men. Timur kept his amirs (nobles) under strict discipline and severally punished them in case they misbehaved or disobeyed his orders.^{1a}

Nobility as an institution existed in India even in the pre-Muslim period. Under the Hindu Rajas the nobles were called the Mantris.² Kautiliya, the famous mantri (minister) of Chandragupta Maurya wrote 'Arthashastra' (Treatise on Polity) which gives useful detailed instructions on the control of the state, national economy and conduct of war.

1 'The institutes of Timur', Recorded by Sharfuddin Ali Yezdi, Eng. Tr. by Maj. Davy, pp 96-98 (autobiography of Timur).

1a Ibid., p.98.

2 The term 'Mantri' can be treated as equivalent to a noble, as the 'mantris' formed the higher strata of the official Class in ancient India.

At the head of state affairs was a small body of elder statesmen whom the king was expected to choose with the ~~at~~most care. It formed the privy-council (Mantri-Parishad) the size of which varied from time to time, ranging from seven to thirty seven. We have little evidence of its size in practice but it seems that it was preferred to have the smaller size than the larger. This council was not a cabinet in the modern sense, but an advisory body, with a few corporate functions. The council's purpose was primarily to advise and aid the king and not to govern, but it was no mere rubber-stamping body. All authorities stress that the councillors should ~~speak~~ freely and openly and that the king should give full consideration to their advice.¹

Nobility under Delhi-Sultanate

In medieval times the nobles were the mainstay of a sovereign power. Although the sovereign in theory enjoyed absolute powers but in practice he could govern only with the help of his nobles or officers. He could make plans and chalk out policies but these plans and policies could only

1 Rudradaman, a king of Saka dynasty once referred the question of rebuilding the Girnar dam to his councillors, who advised against it, so he was forced to undertake the work against their advice, apparently at the expense of the privy purse and not of public funds. The Kashmir chronicle gives one case of a privy council deposing the king, another of its vetoing the king's nomination of his successor.

See Wonder That was India, by A.L. Basham, p. 99.

be carried out by them. Therefore, the opinions and interests of the nobles, directly or indirectly, played an important part in their formation. The interests of all of them could not be taken into consideration. Hence the sovereign was not in a position to satisfy every noble and officer because the nobles generally differed among themselves on vital issues of state business and it was often difficult to obtain their unanimous decision. At the same time, the sovereign could not afford to displease them because the nobles helped him not only in conquering territories and extending his empire but also in the administration of the country. The quarrels and frictions in the rank of nobility continued throughout the medieval period which led the nobles to organise themselves in groups and factions on the basis of religion, caste, creed, nationality, support to a particular candidate for succession to the throne and so on. Therefore, Factionalism remained a salient feature of the nobility in medieval India. The position, composition and organisation of the nobility and its ^{relations} ~~selections~~ with the sovereign changed from time to time.

In the Sultanate period, the kings were generally themselves nobles, having risen to power by sheer dint of merit and practical statesmanship. From 1192 A.D. to 1206 A.D. Qutbuddin Aibak administered this country (some portions of Northern India, including Delhi) as a governor or representative of Mohammad Ghorī. In 1206 A.D. Aibak, after

the death of Mohammad Ghorī, became the defacto ruler. Breaking all relations with the Ghorid empire, he became the founder of Delhi Sultanate, giving it an independent sovereign status. The next important ruler, Iltutmish, held important posts in the reign of Aibak and was ultimately made by him the governor of Badaon. He was one of the influential officers of Aibak and was also his son-in-law. In 1211 A.D., after the death of Aibak (1210 A.D.), Iltutmish became the Sultan. Similarly Balban was a member of the Chahalgani (Group of forty nobles formed by Iltutmish), was promoted to the post of amir-i-shikar (Person in charge of the royal hunt) in the reign of Sultana Raziya (1236 AD.-1240 A.D.), was appointed to the post of Naib (Deputy Sultan) in the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246 A.D. to 1266 A.D.) and finally in 1266 A.D. Balban became the ruler. Before his accession in 1290 A.D., Jalaluddin Khalji, had risen to the important position of Sar-i-jandar (Head of the Royal Bodyguard), appointed governor of Samana (a frontier province on the North-West) and was probably the most experienced and powerful Turkish noble. Jalaluddin's nephew and son-in-law Alauddin Khalji before his accession to the throne in 1296 A.D. held the posts of Amir-i-Tozak (Master of Ceremonies) and the governorship of Karra-Manikpur (Allahabad) and Awadh. Malik Ghazi, towards the end of Alauddin Khalji's reign became one of the most powerful Turkish nobles in the kingdom and

was appointed by him the governor of Dipalpur. He retained his position in the reign of Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji (1316 A.D. to 1320 A.D.). In 1320 A.D. Ghazi Malik ascended the throne, under the title of Ghiyasuddin Tuglaq¹ Shah. In this way we find out that the important Sultans of Delhi were themselves nobles before their accession to the throne.¹ Dr. Tripathi says that

Since the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, there was a continuity in ranks, designation, racial extraction and hereditary descent which made the Turkish nobility a unique institution. The rise of this nobility was accidental. The nobility under the Delhi Sultans had no right against the state and had no alternative except to live as loyal supporters of their sovereign or as independent rulers. Thus in the opinion of Dr. Ashraf the nobility was reduced to the status of hired bureaucracy which could not exist without the personality of their sovereign.

Dr. Ashraf is of the opinion that broadly speaking, the Turkish nobility could be divided into two major groups- the Ulema and the Umarsh.² The Ulema formed a

1 Dr. Tripathi says that "at that time the position of the sovereign ruler was not more than an exalted peer."
Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire.

2 Ashraf, Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan, p.170.

distinct class of their own and to regard them as a part of the nobility does not sound well because the Ulema were never active participants in the policies of the Sultans. Their role was that of a **second** fiddle who lent their support to the strong party in the tussle between the crown and the nobility . In fact Dr. Ashraf aimed at the study of the Muslim aristocracy, including a very wide range of the sophisticated gentry of the Sultanate, irrespective of the fact whether they were members of the political machinery or not. Further, the classification of the nobility as suggested by Dr. Ashraf is based on the principles of occupation. A close scrutiny of the nobility in the Sultanate period, makes it difficult to accept the basis of classification as made by Dr. Ashraf.

Aibak's accession to the throne was without dispute and all the Muizzi nobles (nobles of Mohammad Ghori) accepted him as their sovereign. The reasons are not far to seek.¹ In its earlier stages the Turkish nobility was nothing more than an organised camp, having a spirit for joint adventure and the will to fight for a common cause. The nobles had no vested interests of their own. There is much semblance of truth in the assertion made by Professor

1 S.B.P. Nigam, Nobility Under the Sultans of Delhi.

distinct class of their own and to regard them as a part of the nobility does not sound well because the Ulema were never active participants in the policies of the Sultans. Their role was that of a **second** fiddle who lent their support to the strong party in the tussle between the crown and the nobility. In fact Dr. Ashraf aimed at the study of the Muslim aristocracy, including a very wide range of the sophisticated gentry of the Sultanate, irrespective of the fact whether they were members of the political machinery or not. Further, the classification of the nobility as suggested by Dr. Ashraf is based on the principles of occupation. A close scrutiny of the nobility in the Sultanate period, makes it difficult to accept the basis of classification as made by Dr. Ashraf.

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Habib that the Indo-Turkish slave bureaucracy in the 13th century was, a sort of joint family organisation in its earlier stages.¹

As the Turks settled down and the Sultanate obtained stability, the will to fight for a common cause was overpowered by the more powerful sentiments of greed for wealth and lust for power. The nobles began to have their vested interests and they engaged themselves in safeguarding these interests by fair and foul means. The accession of Iltutmish to the throne of Delhi is significant because it marks an important stage in the development of the Turkish nobility. Firstly, because the nobles asserted their right to nominate their sovereign and asserted it by force, and secondly it weakened the principle of heredity as the basis of sovereignty. Iltutmish adopted a policy of divide and rule by creating rival groups among the nobles. Thus he sowed the seeds of dissensions among the nobles. By the time of his death the Turkish nobility had organised itself into a united compact body. This is illustrated by the fact that in spite of Iltutmish's nomination of his daughter Raziya as heir-apparent, the nobles placed, his son Ruknuddin Firuz on the

1 • Professor Habib's Introduction to Elliot and Dowson's History of India, edited by Prof. K.A. Nizami, pp. 95-96.

throne. During Rukunuddin Firuz's short reign the Turkish nobility arose to be a powerful group against the Tajik nobles of the court.

The nobility was organised on the racial basis under the Ilbari Turks.¹ Nearly all the prominent nobles were Turks but Khaljis and Tajiks too formed a powerful wing of the nobility. The Turks being dominant and patronised by Mohammad Ghorî got the best of the fertile lands of Hindustan and the Khaljis were driven to seek fortune in the remote lands of Bengal and Bihar. Next important group after Ilbari Turks was that of foreigners called Tajiks who from the beginning of the establishment of the Sultanate, held influential positions. Although many Tajiks were removed from their posts during the reigns of Iltutmish's successors, they still held important posts in the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud and they made a common cause with Ilbari Turks in bringing about the downfall of Imaduddin Raihan. Another group of nobles under the Ilbari Turks was that of newly converted Muslims, called the Neo-Muslims. This group was introduced in the rank of nobility during the reign of Iltutmish and his successors but its influence was more pronounced during the latter part of the rule of Ilbari Turks. Sultan Balban patronised Neo-Muslims. During the reign of Sultan Muizzuddin Kaiqubad, the Neo-Muslims held

1 From Sultan Iltutmish to Sultan Muizzuddin Kaiqubad were Ilbari Turks.

many important assignments. They were despised by the Turkish nobility as outcastes. Another group of nobles under Ilbaris was that of Afghans. They formed a significant wing in the army of Mohammad Ghorī, who led 12,000 Afghan horsemen in the battle against Prithviraj Chauhan.¹ They were also patronised by Aibak who raised many of them to the position of the nobles.² During the reign of Iltutmish and his successors the Afghans could^{not} make any progress. Under Balban, the Afghans again rose to prominence as he placed great confidence in them and there were three thousand Afghan soldiers in Balban's army.³ Another group of nobles, though very insignificant was that of Abyssinians who came into prominence in the reign of Raziya but their influence was short lived.

The racial composition of the nobility was a distinctive feature of the nobility under the Khalji Sultans also. Jalaluddin Khalji distributed all coveted posts to the Khaljis, most of whom were his relatives. Therefore, the dominant position was now occupied by the Khalji Turks, but the old Ilbari Turks continued to assert themselves and made a number of efforts to depose the Khaljis but failed because of lack of proper leadership. Neo-Muslims received

1 Nizamatus-Salam, "The Makhzan-i-Afghana", Eng. Tr. by Nirodbhushan Roy, p.12.

2 Ibid., p.13.

3 Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p.315, Minhaj-us. Siraj.

great patronage in the short reign of Jalaluddin. Alauddin Khalji not only suppressed the Ilbari Turks who had received some patronage under Jalaluddin but also did away with the Khalji nobles who were the supporters of Jalaluddin. He then cleared off the Mughal nobility by following a systematic policy of genocide against them.¹ Hindu converts to Islam, however, made progress under him. Malik Kafur, who rose to the post of Naib was a Hindu, convert. It appears that Alauddin encouraged this new class of nobility to counter-balance the Khalji nobles. The Afghans who had made some progress under the Ilbaris made further progress under the Khaljis.

Under the Tughlaqs the principle of racialism was completely discarded due to number of reasons. Firstly, the Tughlaqs were themselves foreigners in India. They could hardly trace their antecedents previous to the reign of the Khaljis. Secondly, the Tughlaqs had to rely on the old Khalji nobility because of the support rendered by them in bringing the Tughlaqs into power. Thirdly, the new policy of Mohammad bin Tughlaq to make his administration broad-based discouraged the rise of any particular group. He encouraged the foreigners, Hindus, Mongols, Khurasanis and Arabs but never allowed them to organise into a powerful

1 These Mughal nobles had rebelled whereupon Alauddin ordered the general ~~as~~laughter. They were Mongol converts to Islam and were also known as Neo-Muslims.

group. At the death of Mohammad bin Tughlaq, the nobility was a conglomeration of Mongols, Afghans, Neo-Muslims, and others. The next ruler Firuz Tughlaq created a heterogenous nobility to satisfy all the elements. Thus by the time of Firuz Tughlaq racial considerations had ceased to be a cementing force of the nobility and with the disappearance of the old bond of unity, the nobles began to satisfy their personal ambitions. Sultan Firuz Tughlaq selected his team of administrators without any regard to racial superiority and kinship. His courtiers were drawn from the heterogenous stock of Mongols, Afghans, slaves, newly converted Hindus etc. and others.

This liberal policy of Firuz Tughlaq led to absence of any racial group automatically providing those checks and balances which were necessary for efficient and smooth running of the despotic government. No powerful group could emerge in his reign due to this unique character of his nobility. Further, he left the nobles undisturbed in the fulfilment of their ambitions. He gave them full liberty for the exercise of initiative in their respective fields. So much freedom to the nobles in the lapse of time led to deterioration in the efficiency and the loyalty of the nobility who began to sacrifice the interests of the state to their own selfish ends. Hereditary was made the most important criteria for such important posts as that of the Wazir (Prime Minister) by Firuz Tughlaq which further curbed

the chances for the rising talents. Firuz was an ease loving monarch and became too much dependant on his nobles. The hereditary character of nobility was responsible to a great extent for the stability of his reign but it proved injurious to the Sultanate. The nobles began to appropriate as many posts and assignments for their own progeny and dependents that new blood having talents and ability could not be fused in administration. It led to nepotism and corruption in the rank and file of the nobility. While racialism which characterised the early Turkish nobility, was gradually discarded due to force of circumstances, the principle of heredity which had established itself during the Ilbari rule had gradually come to prominence and by the time of the Tughlaqs, it became the most powerful factor in the organisation of the nobility. Then in the reign of Firuz Tughlaq, the institution of slavery developed. Firuz was very fond of slaves and he had collected slaves in such a large numbers that he had to create a separate department (Diwan-i-Arz-i-Bandagan) which was responsible to look after their education and living. All these slaves received manumission (freedom from slavery) in the life time of Firuz and gradually rose to a respectable position equal to the nobility. This new class of nobility had no chances to rise until the privileged nobility existed. Therefore, they tried to annihilate the privileged nobility

a. in order to curve out their own existence. This self interest led to the mutual annihilation of the nobles during the reign of Firuz's successors. These slaves played an important part in bringing about the downfall of the Tughlaq dynasty.

Thus the nobility under the Sultans of Delhi began its career as a small racial group of Ilbari Turks but within half a century of Turkish rule, indigenous elements began to mix and gradually it became more and more heterogenous in character. The heterogenous character of the nobility though provided those checks and balances which were helpful for the sovereigns to keep the nobles under control but in times of necessity it failed to provide leadership to save the Turkish state. Further, the heterogenous character of the nobility failed to develop a sense of patriotism that could make the state stable.¹

The Afghans were strongly wedded to tribal organisation of society. Success of the Afghan government depended to a large extent upon the cooperation of the nobles with the Sultan. The tribal chief was looked upon as chief among equals. The Lodi Sultans were therefore compelled to introduce a tribal monarchy of a confederal

1 For further details, See, S.B.P.Nigam's 'Nobility Under the Sultans of Delhi'; and also his article 'Organisation of the Turkish Nobility'; Islamic Culture, 1965, pp. 271-283.

character. They could not expect help or cooperation from the Turks, the Mughals or the native inhabitants of Hindustan. Hence the Lodi rulers could not afford to annoy the tribal leaders. Their importance did not lie merely in the fact that they were military commanders and recipients of all high offices in the empire but the Afghan nobles claimed in addition, an inalienable right of confederal autonomy. Sultan Bahlul Lodi treated his nobles as his equals and they were fully satisfied when he gave them a lot of autonomy. When his son Sultan Sikandar Lodi followed a policy of consolidating the position of the Sultan and curtailed the privileges of the nobles, they became restive. Later on when Sikandar's successor Sultan Ibrahim Lodi flatly rejected the concessions enjoyed by the nobles, they rose in open rebellion. They claimed that they should be treated as equals and they were ready to accept the Sultan as one among them and were not prepared to tolerate his higher status. The Afghan nobles could not make and compromise with the changed conditions under Ibrahim Lodi and therefore, a number of rebellions of the nobles occurred in his reign. occurred

The Afghan nobles and officers were considered to be uncultured, boorish and ranked low in the social circle. They did not possess the qualities of head and heart. The Afghan nobles were inefficient financiers. But they were not devoid of good qualities, they were well-known for kindness

and generosity and were sincere, jovial and informal in their dealings.¹

Pre-Akbar Period

When Babar became the ruler of Farghana in 1489 A.D. after his father Umar Shaikh Mirza's death, the nobles of the late emperor automatically came in his service. Some changes seem to have been introduced by his father, Umar Shaikh. Firstly, there was no 'order' in nobility, like Timur. Secondly, the system of attaching 'kotuls' to amirs, as followed by Timur, had also disappeared. Finally, there was no Amir-ul-Umarah in the nobility of Umar Shaikh Mirza. There was one thing common in the nobility of Timur and Umar Shaikh, and that is the nobility included men from diverse races and tribes.

Babar used to call his nobles, 'Begs'. During his rule in Farghana, the most prominent race in his nobility was the Mughal (Mongol) race. When he established himself at Kabul (1504-A.D.) he claimed and exercised as much control over his nobles or Begs as any khan of olden times. His noble's loyalty deepened all the more because of their

1 For further details, see the article 'Rise of the Afghan nobility under the Lodi Sultans' by Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, pp. 114-137, Vol. IV, Medieval India Quarterly, 1961.

dependence on him. On the eve of his final campaign to Hindustan his nobility consisted of two wings- The Turkish nobility included the Turanis, Irani,¹ Mirzas, Mughals, and Uzbegs, while the Hind nobility included only the Afghans. The number of the latter increased considerably after Babar's victory at Panipat and Khanwa.

In his last years Babar introduced festive assemblies in the evenings which produced a salutary effect on the nobles. He succeeded in winning their loyalty but he had also to lessen his own despotic power. Sometimes before his death, his Turk nobles were showing signs of discontentment and ambition. Nizamuddin Khalifa seemed all powerful and some of the other nobles, including the Mirzas, exercised influence on the state.

On his accession, Humayun continued his father's policy, conciliated his nobles with costly presents and treated them like comrades. Among his nobles were included the learned maulvis and by the foundation of Din-panah, he emphasised the importance of this section. His growing contact with the Shaikhs, the Syeds and the Ulema encouraged the learned men from the other countries to seek asylum in

1 There was only one Irani noble in Babar's service namely, Yar Ali Balal. During Humayun's reign the number of Irani nobles considerably increased. See the Thesis by P.K.Abror, p.2, 'Nobility under Babar and Humayun'.

his court and to receive his patronage. This made his court the most brilliant among the courts of Asia.

Nothing could offer a better contrast than the subservient bureaucracy of Babar and the tribal turbulence of the Afghans. They would neither stand before the king as the Mughal nobles had to, nor give their sovereign that unquestioned obedience which the Timurids expected from their nobles. "The Afghans remain in the course of characteristic comment very rustic and tactless. This person (Biban) asked to sit . . . little ear was bent to his unreason."¹ Humayun's nobles could not remain aloof and they were influenced by the Afghan sentiments. His nobles began to conceive themselves as it were in Afghan shoes and began demanding the same freedom from jagir transfer and military duties as was the rule with the Lodi nobles. On the other hand Sher Shah (Founder of the Second Afghan Empire) said that 'India was not Roh' (Afghanistan) and he reorganised the Afghan nobility on lines similar to those of the Mughals. He tried to change the outlook of the tribal leaders and enforced obedience and commanded respect. The Afghans had to gradually weaned away from their tribal and parochial outlook and trained to think in terms of an empire.

1 Babarnamah, Eng. Tr. Vol.II, p. 466.

Ultimately, however, despite Humayun's weakness and Sher Shah's organising capacity both the inherent centralisation of the Mughal beauracracy and the feudal outlook of the Afghans asserted themselves. Although Humayun might still have to make compromise with his nobles, still he was thereby able to face the divided Afghans and reestablish Mughal Suzerainty in India.

On his return from Persia, Humayun changed his ways and became more strict in his dealings with the nobles. He was often seen on his saddle than in the literary assemblies. About this time he seems to have made two concessions to his nobles, first to accept the unanimous verdict of his nobility even if he personally disagreed with them and secondly, not to devote himself too exclusively to literary pursuits. His new friends or favourites were Bairam Khan, Tardi Beg Khan, Shah Abul Meali and Abdullah Khan. By the death or exile of some of the prominent old nobles, the new nobles automatically got a chance to rise higher in the esteem of the emperor. But even the new group of nobility was conscious of its power as a clan. Thus, by the 'oath of loyalty', which the emperor and the nobility both took, the latter tried to put certain restrictions upon the powers of the former. They tried to assert that kingship was not the private property of the sovereign; the nobles also had a share in it.

They were willing to render implicit obedience if the policy of the emperor was sound and approved by them, but were not willing to follow him if the policy was whimsical and non-beneficial to the state. The changed behaviour of the emperor, however, proved fruitful, for Kamran, his ambitious brother vanquished and Humayun ^{reigned} ~~reigned~~ once more.

Humayun seems to be vacillating between two opposite ideals, one his father's or central Asian, viz., to be the comrade and companion of his nobles and the other Indian according to which he was to be absolute and far superior to them. The nobility under Humayun remained in the same disorganised state as in the time of Babar. The Turk or the Uzbek, the Irani or the Afghan each jostled against the other for the king's favour. Most of them were engaged in war and strife against the foes of the kingdom, against each other or against the king.

The attitude of the Mirzas in the reign of Humayun had an adverse effect on the nobility also. They intrigued with the nobles in order to increase their own power. Thus they were instrumental in forming groups in the nobility. The dangerous element of conspiracy and treachery entered into the minds of the nobility. Therefore, the Mirzas singly and collectively were to a great extent responsible

for weakening the power of the crown in the reign of Humayun. The nobility under Babar and Humayun continued to be heterogenous in character.¹

1 For further details, see the Thesis, by R.K. Abrol entitled 'Nobility under Babar and Humayun submitted for D.Phil in the University of Allahabad; also the article 'Kingship and the Nobility in Humayun's time' by Dr. S.K. Banerjee, pp. 25-38, ~~XXXX~~ Journal of Uttar Pradesh Historical Society, 1941.